



CHARLES XII'S KAROLINERS

Volume 1: The Swedish Infantry & Artillery
of the Great Northern War 1700–1721

SERGEY SHAMENKOV



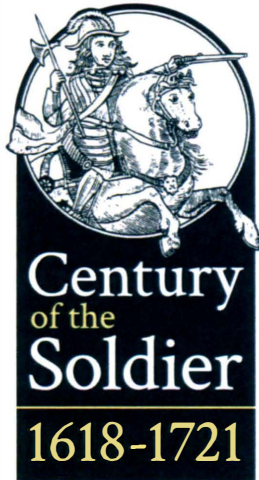
This book examines the evolution and changes in Swedish infantry and artillery uniforms during the Great Northern War.

The author reconstructs in detail the appearance of infantry and artillery officers, NCOs, and privates of the time of Charles XII, drawing on a number of studies and articles, and based on extant artefacts, and written and iconographic documents that have survived to our time. The book illustrates both major and minor changes in the cut, style, and adornments of the uniforms of infantry and artillery officers, NCOs, and privates that occurred shortly before or during the war. It also provides detailed insights into the differences between the Carolean uniforms of the "older model" of 1687, which served as the basis for later modifications, and the "younger model" of 1706, as well as into different variations in transitional models existing between the two.

The book also studies the different variations of headgear used by Swedish officers, NCOs, and privates, with a particular focus on grenadier caps, and examines soldiers' accoutrements and dress. The uniforms and insignia of Swedish infantry and artillery officers are described in a separate section.

Along with published sources, this book also relies on little-known or previously unpublished documents. The text is accompanied with photos of surviving uniforms, archaeological finds and period artworks, and is richly illustrated with the author's graphic reconstructions of period uniforms.

A full-colour section is dedicated to the author's own plates, which show officers, NCOs, and privates of Charles XII's army during the Great Northern War. These eye-catching graphic reconstructions with detailed descriptions will be helpful for historians, artists, reenactors, and filmmakers. They will also be invaluable to those who are fond of historical figurines and to those who create their own tabletop armies to play out historical battles.



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About the author and artist:

Sergey Shamenkov is a graduate of the Academy of Arts in Lviv, and currently lives and works in Odessa, Ukraine. He is an artist and author who has worked on many military history publications. In addition, he is also a sculptor, historian of historical uniforms and clothing, and reenactor. The uniforms of the Great Northern War have a special interest for him, especially those of the Swedish Army of Charles XII. He is a founding member of the *Jönköpingsregemente* historical re-enactment group. He frequently illustrates volumes in Helion’s Century of the Soldier series.

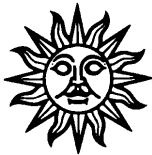
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Sergey Shamenkov

Translated by Dmitry Leonidovich Chugainov

'This is the Century of the Soldier', Fulvio Testi, Poet, 1641



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Helion & Company Limited
Unit 8 Amherst Business Centre
Budbrooke Road
Warwick
CV34 5WE
England
Tel. 01926 499 619
Email: info@helion.co.uk
Website: www.helion.co.uk
Twitter: @helionbooks
Visit our blog <http://blog.helion.co.uk/>

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Foreword

Books about uniforms and uniform development are, some would say, of interest only for the specialised students of military history. I however do not agree. The study of uniform history can tell us much about our past and how people presented themselves, not only on the battlefield but also in society. One must remember that during the eighteenth century most of Europe was very much a militarised continent. Sweden was probably one of Europe's most militarily focused states during this period in history. This was a result of Sweden's so-called 'period of greatness' when the Swedish realm was a large power in Europe, after the end of the Thirty Years' War in 1648. Sweden's power was challenged during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and this forced a new modern army to be formed by King Charles XI in the 1680s. When war broke out in the year 1700 this new army was tested for the first time under the king and field commander Charles XII with great military success. So, the study of Charles XII's karoliner is of great interest not only for Swedish historians but also for English-speaking historians.

For the first time the subject on Swedish uniforms used during the Great Northern War is available in English. Sergey Shamenkov has with this book written a complete presentation on all the details that sum up the uniform fashion, the equipment and the tactics of the period. The source material is very scarce in comparison to later periods, but the author has put all the available pieces together to form a good picture of the Swedish army 300 years ago. And I also enjoyed the grenadiers' caps!

Martin Markelius
Armémuseum, Stockholm
March 2022

Preface

This book elaborates on a number of studies and articles by various authors on the Swedish uniforms of the Great Northern War. Other books and articles on the subject have been published by renowned authors such as Bellander, Åberg and Göransson, M. Fredholm von Essen, and others.

On a special note, I would like to mention the foundational reference book on Swedish uniforms by Lars-Eric Höglund. Lars-Eric is a colleague of mine, who shares my interest in the re-enactment of the Swedish army and whom I had the honour to meet personally during the commemorative events in Narva, in which we both participated. Without his book, this project would have been much more complicated.

In this work, I use materials that I have gathered as well as the works of various researchers who have explored Swedish uniforms. I track the evolution of Swedish infantry and artillery uniforms during the Great Northern War, based on artefacts, and written and iconographic documents that have survived to our time. I also describe and illustrate both major and minor changes in the cut, style, and adornments in the uniforms of infantry and artillery officers, NCOs, and privates that occurred shortly before or during the war. The book provides detailed insights into the differences between the Carolean uniforms of the 'older model' of 1687, which served as the basis for later modifications, and the 'younger model' of 1706, as well as into different variations in transitional models existing between the two. Also included are the different variations of headgear used by Swedish officers, NCOs, privates, with a particular focus on grenadier caps.

The book also relies on little known or previously unpublished documents. In this work, I have also used, with some modifications, two of my previous articles on the uniforms and accoutrements of Swedish grenadiers and officers. The text includes photos of surviving authentic garments and accoutrements from museum collections, as well as some chance finds of elements of outfits and equipment from historical battlefields.

Furthermore, this publication presents rare examples of paintings and other artworks dating from the time of the Great Northern War and depicting Swedish soldiers and officers.

A separate section includes my drawings and paintings, reconstructing the appearance of officers, NCOs, and privates from various periods of the war.

This book may prove helpful for historians, artists, reenactors, and filmmakers, as well as for those who create their own tabletop armies to play out historical battles.

Sergey Shamenkov
Odessa, March 2022

Acknowledgements

This book is a tribute to Swedish warriors – ‘the retinue of the Last of the Vikings’.

I would like to thank my friends and colleagues for helping me write this book: Mikael Andersson, Boris Megorsky, Håkan Henriksson, Tomas Lindell, and Vladimir Velikanov.



A portrait of Charles XII. The Art Gallery at Narva Museum. (Author's photo)

The Battle Formations and Tactics of Charles XII's Infantry

Before moving on to the uniforms, this chapter will discuss the organisation and military tactics of the Swedish infantry. Infantry included allotted (*indelta*) regiments, that is, regiments of conscripts fielded by provinces, and garrison regiments consisting of enlisted volunteers. The Swedish provinces of Livonia (*Livland*) and Estonia (*Estland*) also had locally raised militia battalions. All army infantry regiments, however, had a standard organisation: they were 1,200-strong and divided into two battalions of eight companies each, with a company normally including three to five officers, five NCOs, six corporals, and 144 privates. Each company had six divisions of 25 men each, including two grenadiers. Therefore, an infantry company counted 84 musketeers, 48 pikemen, and 12 grenadiers. In reality, during the war, the number of soldiers and their functions in the units varied, of course; for instance, there could be fewer pikemen per unit.

During the battle, a battalion usually deployed four ranks deep, with the colonel in the middle, and other officers and NCOs positioned behind the line. Pikemen stood in the centre of the battalion, flanked by musketeers and some of the grenadiers. The ensigns with company flags were in the middle of the formation surrounded by a platoon of grenadiers, with non-commissioned officers (*förare*) behind them. Two drummers were positioned behind the standard-bearers, with the rest deployed behind the ranks, except for one or two who stood in the ranks.

Throughout the Great Northern War, the Swedish infantry used its own set of original formations and combat tactics, which was known as the New Manner of Battalion Combat. It was prescribed in a 1694 regulation as follows:

As the battalion commander orders: 'Ready!', the pikemen will raise their pikes and move forward until the battalion comes within 70 paces of the enemy. As soon as the officer commands: 'Two rear ranks, prepare to fire!', those ranks will advance and double up the files of the two front ranks. Once the two rear ranks have fired, they will draw their swords. As soon as the two front ranks have moved forward, the two rear ranks will press up close behind the two front ranks, and



then the whole battalion will march in close order formation towards the enemy until they come within 30 paces of the enemy. Then the command is given: 'The two front ranks, prepare to fire!' [The first rank could then kneel down]. Having fired, they will draw their swords and charge into the enemy's lines.

After 1701, the only change in this approach was that the battalion was to get even closer to the enemy for the second salvo.¹ As the case may have been, the battalion could also fire by counter-marching (caracole).

Grenadier units appeared in the Swedish army as early as the mid 1680s. The drill regulations of 1693 and 1701 are very clear about the course of action to be taken by a grenadier in battle. The grenadier was to first fire his musket, then sling the musket over his back, pull out a grenade, light the match, and then throw the grenade. After that, he was to use his bayonet.

In battle, grenadiers would occupy the most dangerous and vulnerable positions depending on the situation (usually the flanks of their unit). Also, according to the Swedish infantry regulations of 1701, during a battle some grenadiers were allocated to guard the captain: 'when a battalion marches on the enemy, eight grenadiers will go in front of the commanding officer.'² According to the regulations, grenades were to be thrown as follows. On the command of an officer or an NCO (standing on the right flank), the grenadiers would leave the ranks to stand at 10 paces in front of the battalion. On command, the grenadiers would close ranks, sling their muskets over their right shoulder on a sling, then take the grenades out of their grenade bags, bite the paper off the ignition tube and clamp it with their thumb. Then they would take the smouldering match out of the match case, blow on it, ignite the grenade on command, and throw it at the enemy.³ In 1700, during the Battle of Narva, composite platoons of grenadiers from the grenadier battalion of the King's Life Guard Regiment of Foot (*Kunglig Majestäts livgardet till fot*), Närke-Värmlands Regiment (*Närke-Värmlands regemente*), and Dalarna Regiment (*Dalregementet*) marched in the vanguard of the infantry columns. Having thrown fascines into the ditches, the grenadiers stormed the Russian positions (perhaps, they also threw their grenades⁴), and forced the Russian vanguard to retreat.⁵ In 1702, at the Battle of Kliszów, the grenadiers of the Life Guards stood in the front ranks and could also throw grenades. Grenadiers of the Närke-Värmlands Regiment (*Närke-Värmlands regemente*), Västmanland Regiment (*Västmanlands regemente*), and Kalmar Regiment (*Kalmar regemente*),⁶ met the advancing Polish cavalry and threw

Facing page: Fragments of an engraving of 1705 by J. Liten showing the crossing of the Dūna (Battle of Daugava) in 1701. (National History Museum of Latvia, Riga. Author's photo)

1 G. Arteus, 'Karolinsk och europeisk stridstaktik 1700–1712', MHI, 5. 1972, pp.36–37.

2 Christoph Brendeken, *Förordning och reglemente för infanteriet som den stormäktigste konung och herre, herr Carl den XII. Sweriges, Götes och Wändes konung, &c. &c. har författa och alle wederbörande til effterrättelse af trycket utgå låtit, med bifogad* (Reval, 1701), pp.12, 181.

3 Brendeken, *Förordning och reglemente*, pp.80–107.

4 Svenska Akademiens handlingar ifrån år 1886 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1906), p.69.

5 Karl XII På Slagfältet: karolinsk slagledning sedd mot bakgrunden av taktikens utveckling från äldsta tider (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt, 1919), Kap. II. 'Från Kampen På De Indre Linjerna 1709–1718', pp.336–337.

6 M. Wagner, *Kliszów 1702* (Warszawa: Bellona, 1994), pp.180–182.

grenades at them.⁷ As a result, the Polish heavy cavalry, the hussars and the armoured companions (*towarzysze pancerni*, cavalrymen in chainmail and *misiorka* helmets) were unable to complete the attack and retreated.⁸ In 1703, at the Battle of Saladen (Saločiai), the Swedish commander A. Lewenhaupt positioned his troops in a formation used by Swedish kings Gustavus Adolphus and Charles X during the Thirty Years' War, with infantry units and cavalry squadrons deployed alternately in a single line, or else in staggered order. Lewenhaupt had a battalion of the Hälsingland Regiment (*Hälsinge regemente*), a battalion of the Garrison Regiment in Riga (*Garnisonsregementet i Riga*), a company of the Uppland Third-Man Regiment (*Upplands (Västmanlands och Dalarnas) tremänningsregemente till fot*), Närke-Värmland Third-Man Regiment (*Närke-Värmlands tremänningsregemente till fot*), as well as a company of the Södermanland Regiment (*Södermanlands regemente*), a total of 11 companies. He divided his entire infantry into nine detachments ('battalions') and placed them between cavalry squadrons while four of the infantry 'battalions' were made up entirely of grenadiers and stood on the flanks of the Swedish line. According to the post-battle report, these grenadier 'battalions' played a crucial role in the battle's outcome by being the first to break into the Russian retrenchment 19.⁹ At the Battle of Gemauerthof on 26 July (New Style) 1705, Lewenhaupt formed composite grenadier units once again. The Swedish infantry was divided into two-company field 'battalions' deployed in two lines. On each flank, between the two infantry lines, he positioned a composite grenadier 'battalion' made up of grenadiers from the Hälsingland Regiment (*Hälsinge regemente*) and Uppland Third-Man Regiment (*Upplands (Västmanlands och Dalarnas) tremänningsregemente till fot*). Committed at the right time, these reserves decided the outcome of the battle, and the Swedes were victorious.¹⁰ Apart from field battles, grenadiers were actively employed in storming and defending fortifications. In 1704, when the Russians stormed Dorpat (modern Tartu), the Livonian Regiment of K.G. Skytte (*Skyttes livländskt infanteriregemente*) counter-attacked an enemy detachment, with its grenadiers marching ahead of the companies and throwing grenades; the Russians responded in kind.¹¹ During the siege of Poltava in 1709, composite units of Swedish grenadiers hurled grenades at the defenders of the fortress.¹²

7 *En förnäm officers utförliga relation om den bataljen och härliga seger som hans kunglig majestät av Sverige den 19 juli 1702 vid Kliszow erhållit över konungen i Polen och hans saxiska och polska armée*, p.4.

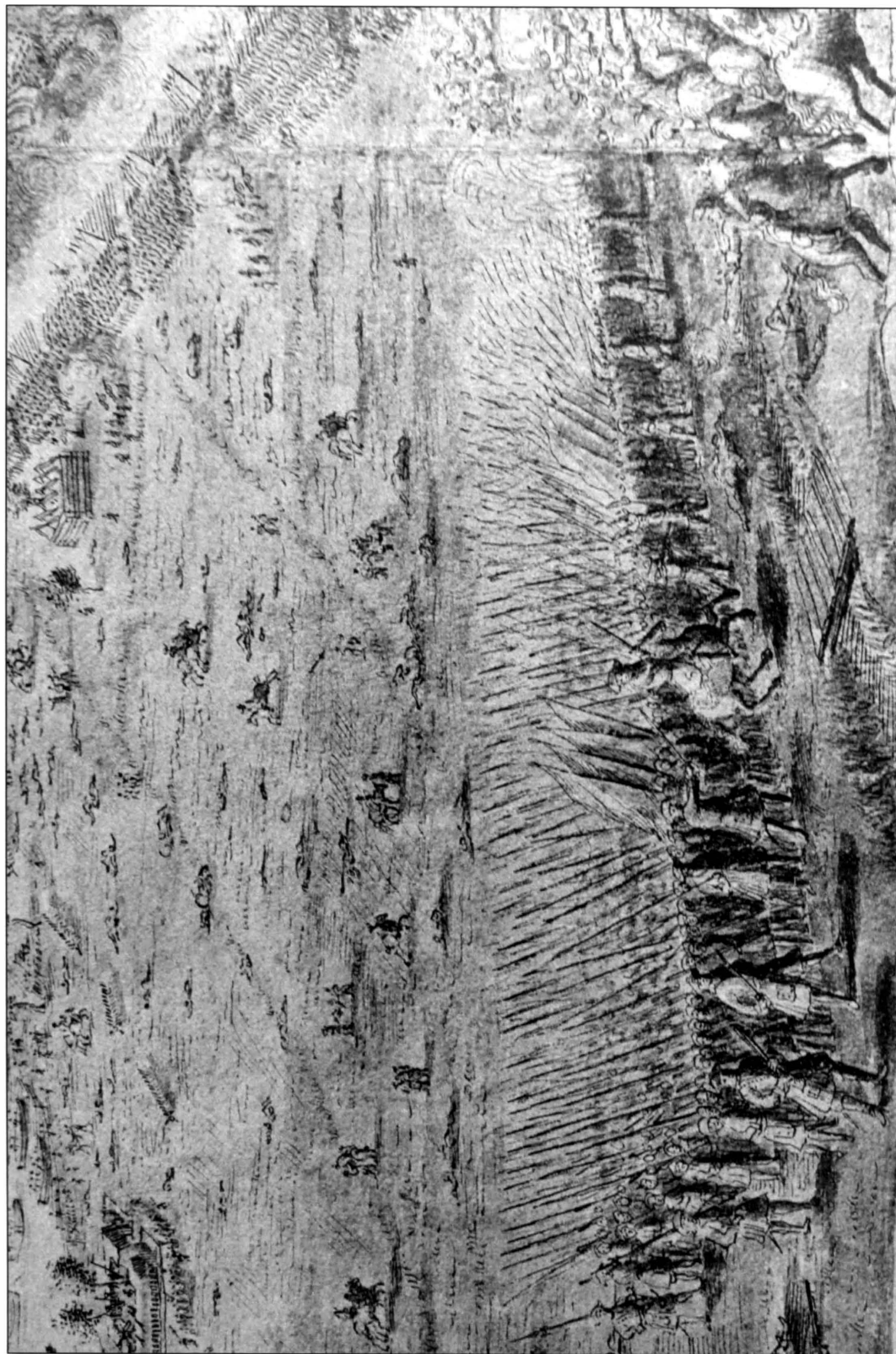
8 B. Krolikowski, *Labirynt Wojny Polnocnej 1700–1706* (Warszawa: Ministerstwo Obrony Narodowej, 1972), p.89.

9 *Umständliche Relation des Gefechtes zwischen den Truppen König Karls XII. und der sechsmal grösseren moskowitisch-litauischen Macht unweit Birsén am 19. März 1703*, pp.8–13.

10 H.E. Uddgren, *Karolinen Adam Ludvig Lewenhaupt: Hans krigföring i Kurland och Litauen 1703–1708* (Stockholm: A.B. Nordiska bokhandeln, 1950), Kap. II: 1705–1709. Appendix, p.15; A.V. Bepalov, *Bitvy Severnoi voyny*, M., 2005, p.74.

11 M. Laidre, *The Great Northern War and Estonia: The Trials of Dorpat (1700–1708)* (Tallinn: Argo, 2010), pp.145–146; A.V. Bepalov, *Bitvy Severnoi voyny*, M., 2005, p.74.

12 V.A. Artamonov, 'Osada Poltavy v 1709 gody (po shvedskim istochnikam)', *Voprosy istorii*, 2004, no. 11, pp.112–121.



A fragment of an engraving showing the crossing of the Düna in 1701. The engraving clearly shows how the Swedish battalions were deployed, with field artillery placed in the intervals between the battalions to support them with cannon fire.

A pikeman of the Dalarna Regiment (*Dalregementet*), 1703. The regiment spent the beginning of the war in its old uniforms, and only by 1703 received new ones made in line with all the latest royal edicts on changes to uniforms. The new ones were ordered with a direct requirement to use the uniforms of the Guards as a model.





King Charles XII of Sweden. The King is shown here in his preferred style, bareheaded, and wearing a fur-lined coat over a leather waistcoat. He is depicted wearing this coat in many portraits dating from the first period of the war.

A Swedish army musketeer in a uniform dating from the late 1690s. A similar type of coat was worn by the Life Guard Regiment of Foot and other units during the first period of the Great Northern War. A black hat with white woollen lace, the brim is rolled up, but quite loose around the crown. The waistcoat, with its horizontal pocket flaps and much smaller cuffs, differs from the models of the 1680s. The collar is shown as a narrow standing collar, but, as we know, this type of coat already had a narrow turn-down collar starting from the mid 1690s. The musketeer is armed with a musket, sword and bayonet in a scabbard, on a buckskin waistbelt, and a cartridge pouch on a shoulder belt slung over his left shoulder.





A grenadier of the King's Life Guard Regiment of Foot (*Kunglig Majestäts Livgardet till fot*), 1700s.

The grenadier is wearing a blue karpus with yellow turn-up flaps and several pewter buttons on top of the crown. He is shown in a coat of the 1699 model issued to the Life Guard Regiment of Foot in 1703. The coat features a collar, small cuffs, and buttons reaching down to the waist, with pentagonal pocket flaps for three to five buttons. The grenadier is armed with a sword, and a musket with a bayonet, the musket has a shoulder sling for him to sling the musket over his back when preparing to throw a hand grenade. A black leather cartridge pouch is worn over the left shoulder on a shoulder belt, which has a match case attached to it. The cover of the cartridge pouch is decorated with a cloth cover featuring an appliqué in the form of the royal cipher. A grenade bag is slung across the grenadier's right shoulder, also of black leather, with an appliqué in the form of the royal cipher and a crown. Other accoutrements are standard for an infantryman.



A fragment of an equestrian portrait of Charles XII, early 1700s. The King is shown in the midst of the Battle of Narva in 1700 (Art Gallery at Narva Museum). The painting shows one of the ways the infantry operated in battle. The infantrymen are shown wearing blue karpuses with yellow turn-up flaps and blue coats of an earlier model. (Author's photo)

A regular infantry regiment comprised 96 grenadiers, or two-thirds of a full-strength company. The King's Life Guard Regiment of Foot (*Kunglig Majestäts livgardet till fot*) had a slightly different organisation, with its fourth battalion entirely composed of grenadiers. In allotted (*indelsta*) regiments, grenadiers were part of infantry companies, but as a rule they were combined into provisional company-sized assault squads and detachments. In enlisted regiments, the colonel himself decided whether to form a standalone company of grenadiers or not. The surviving artefacts, including grenadier caps in Russian museums, provide us with sufficient evidence of the existence of standalone grenadier companies only with respect to several Swedish regiments, as well as the Estonian regiments (*Eständskt infanterieregemente*) of Mellin and de la Gardie.¹³ The structure and organisation of enlisted regiments raised during the war could differ from their pre-war structure and organisation. The preferences and financial means of their colonels played a major role in such cases. The number of grenadiers in the regiments formed from the Estonian militia did not match the regulation numbers, either. Rebinder's (*Jerwiska*) regiment bought 50 grenadier cartridge boxes in

¹³ L.-E. Höglund, *The Great Northern War 1700–1721. Colours and Uniforms* (Karlstad: Acedia Press, 2000), pp.15, 109.



1701; grenadiers were also mentioned in Hastfer's (*Wieriska*) regiment.¹⁴ In 1710, Pahlen's (*Harju/Harriska*) regiment had nine to 18 grenadiers in each of its eight companies.¹⁵ A Swedish cornet was captured near Narva in 1704, and during interrogation he alleged, among other things, that 600 grenadiers had been sent to Schlippenbach's troops from Stockholm.¹⁶ However, it is difficult to judge how true these allegations were, probably the numbers were greatly exaggerated and the unit itself might not have even been as strong as a company. Unfortunately, almost all Swedish regimental documents of that period have been lost and we do not have a clear understanding of the organisation of grenadier units; for example, it is still hard to tell whether all allotted regiments had grenadier officers and NCOs. On the one hand, grenadiers in the allotted regiments and in most of the enlisted regiments did not form a separate unit and were distributed across regular companies. On the other hand, we know many cases during the Great Northern War when grenadiers were combined into temporary units. It is unclear, however, from which units the NCOs and officers in command of these units were allocated and whether they wore a grenadier cap, unlike other officers of the regiment, and relevant accoutrements.

A fragment of a panel depicting the crossing of the Düna by Charles XII in 1701 (by J.H. Schildt, Drottningholm Palace). Both the uniforms of officers and privates of the King's Life Guard Regiment of Foot (*Kunglig Majestäts Livgardet till fot*) can be seen in detail.

¹⁴ Kroon, *Kolme Lõvi Ja Greifi All Põhjasõjas* (Tallinn: Argo, 2007), p.173.

¹⁵ Kroon, *Kolme Lõvi Ja Greifi All Põhjasõjas*, pp.357–361.

¹⁶ *Pohodniyj zhurnal 1704 goda*, SPb, 1854, p.130.



Right: Pikeman of Jönköpings regiment, 1700.

Facing page: A grenadier of B. Mellin's regiment (*Mellins Eständskt infanterieregemente*). This grenadier is preparing to throw a hand grenade. He is wearing a blue coat lined yellow, a buckskin waistcoat, blue breeches and stockings. His cap is made of blue cloth with a stand-up peak of yellow cloth, with five grenades embroidered on the peak. A yellow cloth royal cipher (CXII) is embroidered on the cap's front, with two yellow cloth lions holding the cipher on both sides, and a yellow cloth crown above the cipher. The inscription GRENADIERS DU COMTE MELIN is embroidered in red on the back, with a crown above the inscription, and two palm branches interlaced beneath the inscription. There is a yellow woollen tassel on the tip of the cap's top. Grenadiers were armed, like musketeers, with a flintlock musket, bayonet, and sword. Grenadiers' muskets had a shoulder sling. The sword and bayonet were worn on a waistbelt. Grenadiers used cartridge pouches of the same models as those of musketeers, but had a brass match case attached to the front surface of their shoulder belt. A leather appliqué in the form of a royal cipher with a crown was sewn onto the cover of the cartridge bag. In this case, the grenade bag is made of yellow leather. The lid of the bag could also be decorated with a leather appliqué in the form of a royal cipher. Grenade bags were worn over the right shoulder.



According to L.-E. Höglund, grenadiers in Life Guard units and in enlisted regiments garrisoned in Pomerania had officers and NCOs.¹⁷ Documents from the 1701 campaign in Pomerania mention a standalone company-size grenadier unit, but we do not know how or where it operated.¹⁸ There is virtually no data about grenadiers in allotted regiments, except for occasional references to NCOs and officers in biographies of Swedish officers: for example *grenadjärkapten Vellingks. reg. i Stade* in 1691,¹⁹ *grenadjärfänrik, grenadjärkapten, and grenadjärlöjtnant Västmanlands reg.* in 1700,²⁰ *grenadjärkapten Skaraborgs reg.* in 1702,²¹ and *grenadjärsergeant Älvsborgs reg., grenadjärförare Kalmar reg.* in 1718.²² This suggests that already in the early years of the Great Northern War, allotted infantry regiments had grenadier officers and NCOs. The most complete information is available for the Hälsingland Regiment (*Hälsinge regemente*), whose records mention some names and positions of grenadier officers and NCOs in 1719: Oloff Höök as Life Company ensign and formerly *grenadjärfältväbell*; Carl Gustaf Craelius as *grenadjärfältväbell*; Knut Lagerblad as *grenadjärkapten* in the Overstlöjtnant's Company; Jacob Widberg as *grenadjärlöjtnant* in the Major's Company; Erich Wattlind as *grenadjärsergeant* and Erich Backman as *grenadjärförare* in the Järvsö Company; Anders Kiöping as *grenadjärrustmästare* in the Arbrä Company. *Grenadjärförare* Hans Linnell in the Alfta Company, *grenadjärlöjtnant* Jacob Widberg in the Ovensjö Company, and *grenadjärkorporal* Peter Eng in the Delsbo Company.²³ Judging from the above list, grenadier NCOs and officers were evenly distributed across infantry companies. We cannot be fully sure whether this regiment had a grenadier company as a standing unit, or just platoons commanded by the above officers and NCOs, which were formed as necessary. But in any case, it is quite reasonable to assume that, when all grenadiers were temporarily combined into a company, they were commanded by grenadier officers and NCOs.

17 Höglund, *The Great Northern War*, pp.103–106.

18 *Historiska Handlingar* (Stockholm: Samf., 1861), pp.175.

19 Svenskt Biografiskt Lexicon (Dictionary of Swedish National Biography), <<http://www.nad.riksarkivet.se/sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=16803>>, accessed 21 August 2012.

20 A. Koskull, 'Självbiografiska anteckningar 1677–1721', *Karolinska Krigares Dagböcker* (Lund: Gleerupska Univ. Bokhandeln, 1909), Bd. 6, pp.301–302.

21 Svenskt Biografiskt Lexicon, <<http://www.nad.riksarkivet.se/sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=10837>>, accessed 21 August 2012.

22 Geni.com: a genealogical portal, <<http://www.geni.com/people/Johan-von-Schwartzzenhoff/4852829743800086903>>, accessed 21 August 2012.

23 J. Norrby, *Med Hälsinge regemente i Norge år 1718. Bearbetning av Hälsinge regementes orderbok 8/10–28/11 1718* (Stockholm, 1980), pp.69–76.

The Weapons and Accoutrements of Charles XII's Infantry

Pikemen were armed with pikes and swords, and musketeers, as well as grenadiers, with flintlock muskets and swords. All infantrymen, and first and foremost grenadiers, were armed with bayonets. Charles XII had no intention of abandoning pikes, and as late as 1719 it was ordered that one quarter of the infantry should be armed with them.¹ The grenadier musket had a shoulder sling, although musketeers were also beginning to use slings on their muskets. The sword and bayonet were carried on a buckskin waistbelt with a brass buckle that had a prong, which was inserted into a hole in a metal plate attached to the opposite end of the belt. The waistbelt could be cut from a single piece of leather or sewn together from two pieces. In the latter case, a segment (frog) to hold the sword and bayonet was sewn onto the waistbelt. The waistbelt was lined with canvas on the reverse side, or edged with braid. NCOs' waistbelts could be trimmed with silver lace, while their buckles could be silvered. Apart from swords, NCOs were armed with halberds (*korsgevär*) of various patterns.

The waistbelts of Life Guards musicians were trimmed with a lace made of gold and silver threads. Privates' swords had a forged steel handguard, sword hilts of NCOs could be silvered, while officers could have their sword hilts gilded. Some pictures show officers' swords having sword knots with tassels. Officers could be armed with swords of different patterns, while their buckskin waistbelts could be laced, or embroidered with metallised thread, and even have a metallised fringe in some cases. Buckles on waistbelts varied in shape, and were not limited to the well-known double-oval ('butterfly') pattern. For example, iconographic sources often show quadrangular buckles with Baroque-style relief adornments. In some regiments, grenadiers were probably able to wear short hangers, probably of the same type as in the artillery.² Grenadiers used grenades made of different materials: glass or

¹ E. Bellander, *Dräkt och uniform: den svenska arméns beklädnad från 1500-talets början fram till våra dagar* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1973), p.225.

² Höglund, *The Great Northern War*, p.128.

This cartridge pouch has previously been identified as being used during the Great Northern War, however close study of the object has challenged this. The pouch was worn on a waistbelt, and this was not the case during the period. It is more probable that it was made from the lid of an old grenadier bag and re-used by the navy during the end of the eighteenth century, or even later. (AM.014294, Stockholm Army Museum)



metal, and the appearance of both metal and glass grenades is illustrated by the surviving examples from the early eighteenth century in the Vienna Arsenal and the Stockholm Army Museum. Hand mortars were sometimes used to throw grenades, and the surviving museum examples vary in design and size, for example some have stationary barrels, like the one from the *Livruskammaren*, or with removable barrels like the hand mortar from the collection of the Army Museum in Stockholm. Muskets with a removable mortar barrel could also serve as hand mortars: they had a ring fixed at the end of their barrels which served as a base for the sleeve of the mortar barrel when it was fitted onto the musket. Grenadiers used cartridge pouches of the same patterns as those of musketeers, but had a brass match case attached to their shoulder belts, plugged with a wooden stopper, which contained a smouldering match. It is possible that the match case could also be attached to the grenade bag, worn exclusively by grenadiers. Ready-to-use grenades, that is those loaded with explosives, were kept in a special bag made of black or yellow leather. In the Swedish army, it was carried over the right shoulder.

It is highly likely that soldiers did not wear grenadier bags all the time, but were issued them as needed. There is some data that helps get a rough idea about the supply of the Baltic regiments and battalions with the equipment for grenadiers. For instance, Rebinder's regiment (*Jerwiska*) bought 50 grenadier bags in 1701.³ In 1704, troops commanded by B.P. Sheremetev captured the ships of a Swedish flotilla sailing from Dorpat, whose crews partly consisted of soldiers from K.G. Skytte's Livonian regiment (*Skyttes livländskt infanteriregemente*). They may have owned the following trophies taken by the Russians: '105 loaded hand grenades, 2 grenadier bags, 76 loaded hand grenades, 2 grenadier bags, matches in bundles, 473 hand

³ Kroon, *Kolme Lövi Ja Greifi All Põhjasõjas*, p.173.

grenades, 8 grenadier bags'.⁴ In the same year, after the surrender of Narva and Ivanгород, the following trophies were found, among others, in the armoury: '34,328 hand grenades, grenade tubes, and a considerable amount of matches'.⁵ Grenadier armourers (*grenadjärrustmästare*) carried special bags, which contained musket charges or grenades, also mentioned among the trophies captured in Dorpat in 1704: '813 grenadier armourer bags'.⁶ Judging by their numbers, it is likely that both types of bags were counted: grenadier bags and armourer bags. Musketeers' cartridge pouches were made of black leather, with a royal cipher and a crown appliqué on top of the lid, but it is unknown whether this was common across all regiments. The lid of musketeers' cartridge pouches and grenadiers' grenade bags could be decorated with a royal cipher under a crown as a leather appliqué, possibly dyed; similar items are currently held in the Army Museum in Stockholm. The appliqué was also made of dyed cloth with the cipher and crown placed on a stylised cloth escutcheon. For example, grenadiers of the King's Life Guard Regiment of Foot (*Kunglig Majestäts Livgardet till fot*) had it in blue and yellow cloth in 1699 and in the early 1700s.⁷ Towards the end of the war, in 1716–1718, the appliqué was supplemented by laurel branches and smaller crowns in the corners of the bag, possibly edged with blue and yellow cord.⁸ The panel from the Drottningholm Palace, depicting Charles XII's crossing of the Düna (Daugava) River in 1701, clearly shows the cartridge pouches of the Life Guard Regiment of Foot with a yellow royal cipher on a blue lid. Höglund indicates in his book that a similar adornment was used in 1710 on the grenade bags of the Garrison Regiment in Stade (*Garnisonsregemente i Stade*): the yellow leather bags had a shield-shaped red cloth appliqué on their lids, with a grenade on top of it. We do not know the details, but we know what grenades on grenadier caps looked like, so, it would be reasonable to assume that the grenades on grenade bags were of a similar shape. Bags of officers and NCOs of this regiment were embroidered with silver and gold.⁹ In the Garrison Regiment in Stralsund (*Garnisonsregementet i Stralsund*), grenade bags also had a lid with a red shield-shaped appliqué while in 1702 grenade bags of the Pomeranian Infantry Regiment (*Pommerska infanteriregementet*) had a brass crown and cipher attached on top of a blue cloth shield.¹⁰ After the death of Charles XII, Frederick I succeeded to the throne in 1720, so the royal cipher was to be replaced on the cartridge pouches and grenade bags at the end of the war, but the cipher of Charles XII was likely to continue in use until the end of the Great Northern War.

4 'Voenno-pokhodniy zhurnal (s 3 iyunya 1701-go goda po 12 sentyabrya 1705 goda) general-feldmarshala Borisa Petrovicha Sheremeteva', *Materialy Voenno-uchenogo arkhiva Glavnogo shtaba*, SPb, 1871, v. 1., pp.144–149.

5 *Pohodniy zhurnal 1704 goda*, p.108.

6 *Pohodniy zhurnal 1704 goda*, p.193.

7 F. Wernstedt, *Kungliga Svea Livgardes Historia, Bd. IV: 1660–1718* (Stockholm: Victor Pettersson, 1954), p.311.

8 Wernstedt, *Kungliga Svea Livgardes historia*, p.636.

9 Höglund, *The Great Northern War*, pp.105–106.

10 Höglund, *The Great Northern War*, pp.105–103.



Two grenadier bags with lids decorated with the cipher of Charles XII under a crown. Used during the period of the Great Northern War. (L-R: AM.014279, AM.014286, Stockholm Army Museum)

In some cases, a leather pocket for the vent pick was sewn onto the shoulder belt of the cartridge pouch, while a powder (priming) horn and an oiler could also be attached to the pocket on leather straps. Powder horns were actually made of horns, which could be of different sizes, sometimes carved or adorned with the royal cipher, lions, and commemorative inscriptions. Soldiers carried their personal belongings in a black leather haversack (*ränsel*), with a sample drawing of such a haversack having fortunately survived to our time in a book.¹¹ Haversacks were carried on the back; a surviving artwork shows two straps, as on modern backpacks, with a small lid on the top. Musical instruments employed by infantry regiments were usually limited to drums, fifes, and shawms. There were soprano, alto, tenor, and bass shawms (*skalmey*). Drums were the most eye-catching and, as a rule, most richly decorated musical instruments. Drums of that period were made of several layers of wooden veneer, or of planks, lined with canvas, and painted.

There were several patterns of drum decoration:

1. The 'flame' pattern, with triangles ('flames', pointing alternately upwards and downwards) of two colours painted over the entire shell of the drum. Regimental colours were used as a rule, as witnessed by iconographic documents and surviving artefacts. Such 'flames' can be seen on the drums of the Nyland Regiment (*Nylands regemente*) in a 1696 map vignette.
2. Drums with 'flames' and a medallion in the centre, with the cipher of King Charles XII under a crown within the medallion.¹² One such drum is held in the Stockholm Army Museum (AM.011005). Yellow flames are painted on the blue surface of the drum's shell, pointing alternately upwards and downwards. An oval medallion with the cipher of Charles XII and a crown is edged in yellow against the blue background.
3. Drums which apparently belonged to Life Companies of infantry regiments, with the greater coats of arms of the Swedish Kingdom, including shield-holding lions, against a white background, and with a small regimental coat of arms to the left of the crown.
4. Drums used by the King's Life Guard Regiment of Foot (*Kunglig Majestäts livgardet till fot*) were made in several patterns. The first pattern had small golden crowns against a blue background with a crowned cipher of King Charles XII in the centre. A copy of such a drum is held in the St Petersburg Artillery Museum (Military Historical Museum of Artillery, Engineers and Signal Corps), inventory No. 16/369. The second pattern (from the same collection, inventory No. 16/376), is dated somewhat later, but features the characteristics inherent to the early 1700s: the greater coat

¹¹ T. Jakobsson, *Artilleriet under Karl XII:s-tiden*, Armémusei Skrifter I (Stockholm: Generalstabens litografiska anstalts förlag, 1943), p.423.

¹² Stockholm Army Museum, <<https://digitaltmuseum.se/011024363624/trumma>>, accessed 27 December 2021.



A drum showing the Jönköpings regimental coat of arms. (Hallands Konstmuseum)

of arms of the Swedish Kingdom, with lions as supporters, is depicted on the white shell of the drum, with blue 'flames' at the ends of which are small golden crowns.¹³

5. Flame-pattern drums, with the coat of arms of the respective province (*län*) in a medallion. There are surviving examples of such drums. One of them, held in the St Petersburg Artillery Museum, bears the coats of arms of the Åbo and Björneborg Province (*Åbo och Björneborgs län*) and apparently belonged to the regiment of the same name. The drum dates from the reign of Frederick I, and its decoration is completely in

¹³ *Grom pobedy razdavaysya*, Katalog. Vystavka posvyashchayetsya 250-letiyu sozdaniya Dostopamyatnogo zala. St. Petersburg, 2006, pp.12–13.



line with the traditions of the early eighteenth century. The other drum from the collection of the *Hallands Konstmuseum* dates from the early eighteenth century, and belonged to the Jönköping Regiment (*Jönköpings regemente*).¹⁴ The drum bears the coat of arms of Jönköping.

A drum dating from the
Great Northern War.
(AM.011005, Stockholm
Army Museum)

The leather slings on which the drums were worn could, in some cases, be edged in cord or braid, woollen with colour thread, or silk interspersed with gold and silver thread, as in the King's Life Guard Regiment of Foot (*Kunglig Majestäts livgardet till fot*).

¹⁴ Army Museum, Stockholm, <<https://digitaltmuseum.se/011024363624/trumma>>, accessed 27 December 2021.

A musketeer of the King's Life Guard Regiment of Foot (*Kunglig Majestäts Livgardet till fot*), 1717. The musketeer's hat is trimmed with white woollen braid. His coat and accoutrements are the same as in other plates. The only exception is a buckskin shoulder belt for the cartridge pouch, which features a pocket sewn onto it, to which a powder horn, a pick, and a screwdriver are attached. The lid of the pouch is covered with a yellow woollen cover with a blue cloth appliqué in the form of the royal cipher, a crown, laurel branches, and smaller crowns in the corners of the lid.





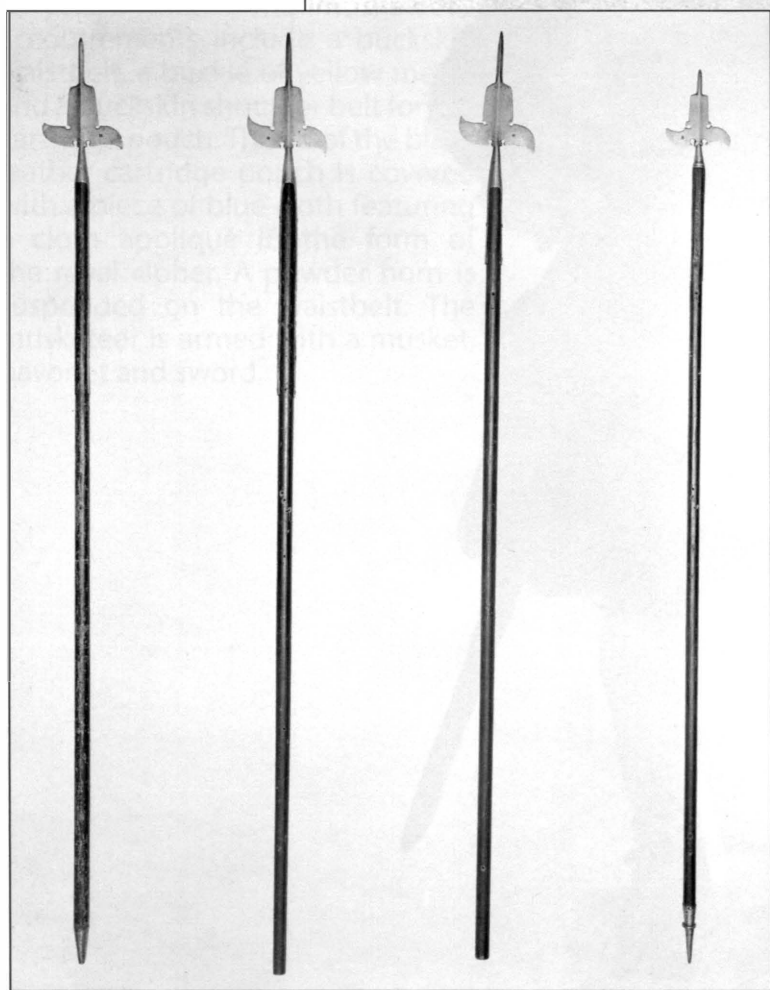
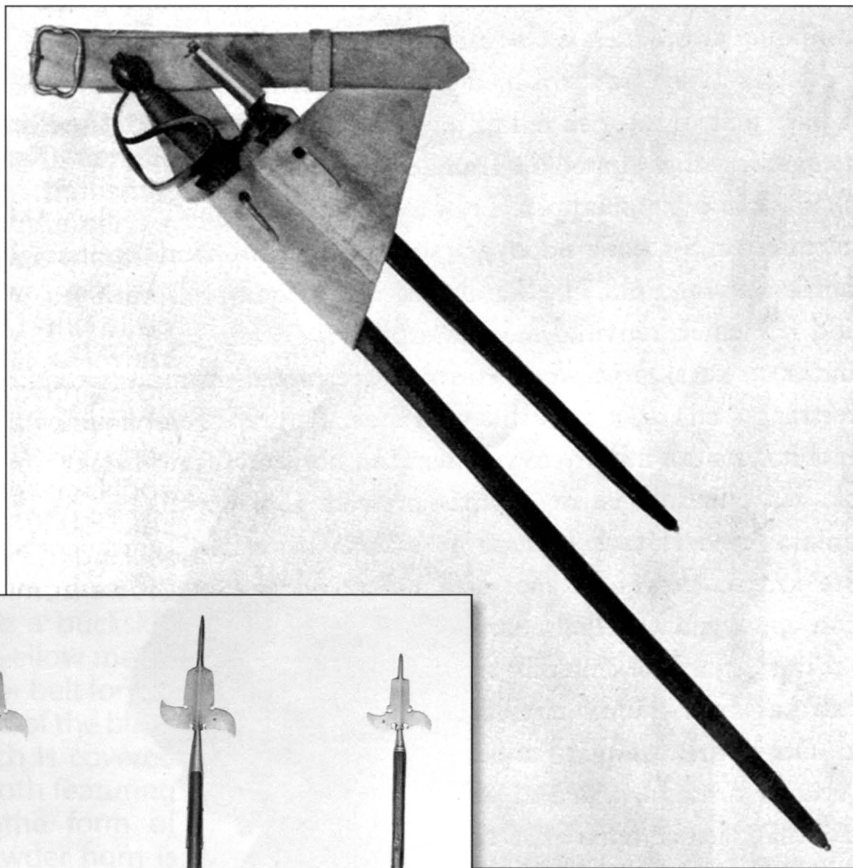
A drummer of the Life Company of the Kronoberg Regiment (*Kronobergs regemente*), 1700. The drummer's hat and coat, as well as the drum's sling, are trimmed with yellow braid. The drum is painted. Ordinary company drums were painted in the regimental colours, with the regimental coat of arms, or simply with triangles (known as 'flames') pointing alternately upwards and downwards. In this case, the pattern repeats the company and regimental banner pattern, featuring a large royal coat of arms and a coat of arms of the respective province painted in the upper left area (a red lion with a crossbow in this drawing).

A musketeer of the King's Life Guard Regiment of Foot (*Kunglig Majestäts Livgardet till fot*), 1700–1709. The musketeer is presenting arms. His hat is trimmed with lace: in 1700, it was silk lace with a mixture of gold and silver thread, but in 1709 it was just white thread. The coat is blue with yellow lining; pewter buttons; a yellow buckskin waistcoat and breeches; yellow knitted woollen stockings, with leather garters under the knee; leather shoes with buckles of yellow metal. The musketeer's accoutrements include a buckskin waistbelt, a buckle of yellow metal, and a buckskin shoulder belt for the cartridge pouch. The lid of the black leather cartridge pouch is covered with a piece of blue cloth featuring a cloth appliqué in the form of the royal cipher. A powder horn is suspended on the waistbelt. The musketeer is armed with a musket, bayonet and sword.



A grenadier of the Pomeranian Infantry Regiment (*Pommerska infanteriregementet*).

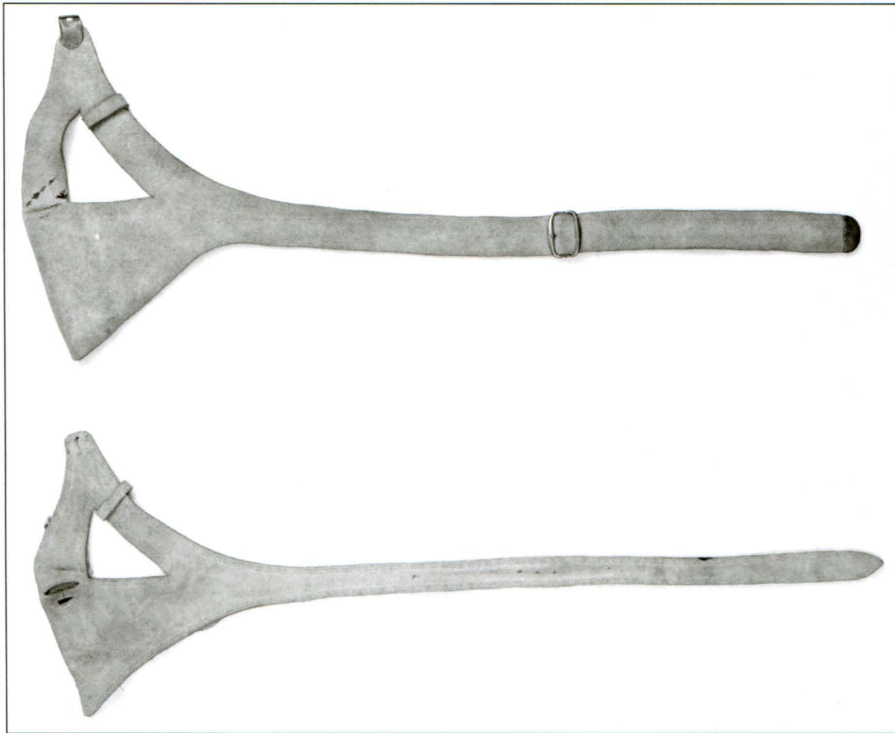




Above: A soldier's waistbelt with a sword and a bayonet.

Left: Halberds (*korsgevär*) of non-commissioned officers.

(Both photos from author's collection)



Left: Waistbelts, front sides. (Photo from author's collection)

Below: waistbelt, reverse side. (AM.023002, Stockholm Army Museum)



The Uniform of Allotted and Enlisted Infantry Regiments of Charles XII

Headgear of Privates, NCOs and Officers

A karpus was a broadcloth hat, with the crown sewn from several sections (for example four or six). Its seams could be piped with woollen cord. Onto the crown were sewn turn-up flaps and a peak, which could be fastened to the crown with a button. The peak could be shaped, pointed, or large and rounded, like those on karpuses worn by the infantrymen in the equestrian portrait of Charles XII at the Art Gallery of Narva Museum. The large turn-up flaps could have several buttons to fasten them, when turned down, under the chin, thereby protecting the whole head and neck from the cold. Sometimes, one or more buttons were sewn on top in the centre as shown in the panel depicting Charles XII's crossing of the Düna River in 1701 by J.H. Schildt (Drottningholm Palace). Karpuses were sewn in regimental colours: for example, a blue crown with yellow or red flaps. The flaps could be small or could be unfolded and buttoned under the chin like montero caps. Karpuses could also be decorated in various ways, the seams could be piped in regimental colours, with a wool pompom on the top: an example can be seen in the equestrian portrait of Charles XII, where a yellow pompom can be seen on the King's karpus. We know that karpuses were also made entirely of fur.¹ The NCOs of some regiments, for example the Dalarna Regiment (*Dals regemente*) in the late 1690s, also wore karpuses, and the karpuses of non-commissioned officers could also be edged in braid or lace.

Some sources report contracts for the supply of headgear, directly mentioning karpuses (karpuser). In 1700, non-commissioned officers of the Närke-Värmland Regiment (*Närke-Värmlands regemente*) wore blue

¹ L. Rangström, *Modelejon: Manligt Mode 1500-tal, 1600-tal, 1700-tal* (Stockholm, Livrustkammaren: Atlantis, 2002), p.173.

karpuses lined red and trimmed with silver lace; black karpuses, with a black peak, lined with braid and with red flaps, were also in use. In early 1705, a total of 758 were ordered for the Närke-Värmland Regiment, which were to be delivered on short notice. A year later, 1,200 karpuses were ordered for the Västmanland Regiment and the Närke-Värmland Regiment; at the same time, 3,455 were ordered for the Livonian and Estonian garrison regiments (*livländska och estländska garnisonerna*) under the command of Generals Maidel and Lewenhaupt, in addition to the existing 36 karpuses for NCOs. The blue karpuses of the Västergötland-Dals Regiment (*Västgöta-Dals regemente*) had yellow flaps and a yellow peak edged with a cord of white, yellow and blue. In 1706, a total of 1,090 karpuses were ordered for the Västerbotten Regiment (*Västerbottens regemente*).² Some were blue with a white peak and flaps, which were also worn by the drummers and fifers of the regiment.

Felt hats (*hatt*), were made of felted black wool. According to the royal decree of 1699, hats for ordinary infantry regiments were trimmed with a braid made of white camel wool yarn or thread.³ Corporals could have their hats trimmed with narrow golden lace, for example, corporals of the Södermanland Regiment (*Södermanlands regemente*) had theirs laced in 1702.⁴ Hats of NCOs were made of black felt laced with silver, with the hat brim rolled up and fastened to the crown ('pledged') with a silvered button. Musicians' hats were trimmed with woollen braid interspersed with coloured thread, resulting in an ornament in the regimental colours. By the start of the Great Northern War, the brim of felt hats was rolled up and 'pledged' to the crown with a drawstring sewn around the crown and pushed through the eye of the button, which was inserted in the left side of the hat's brim. The stronger the drawstring was pulled, the tighter the brim was drawn to the crown. Pulling the drawstring strongly enough resulted in a three-cornered hat. Another method was also used at the outbreak of the war, with the brim drawn to the crown rather loosely or only one side 'pledged'. The tightly 'pledged' brim gradually came into fashion, resulting in the well-known three-cornered hat. Often, some soldiers of a unit



A fragment of a watercolour depicting the Royal Göta Artillery Regiment (*Kungliga Göta artilleriregemente*), 1716. It shows an artilleryman wearing a typical Swedish karpus.

² Bellander, *Dräkt och uniform*, p.225.

³ Bellander, *Dräkt och uniform*, p.216.

⁴ Höglund, *The Uniforms of The Swedish Army in the Great Northern War* (Karlstad: Acedia Press, 1996), p.59.



initially wore karpuses while other soldiers of the same unit were issued hats, with both types continuing in use by the unit. For example, before crossing to Livonia at the outbreak of the war, the Uppland Regiment (*Upplands regemente*), which initially had karpuses, was issued three-cornered hats trimmed with white woollen braid. In some cases, braids on hats and caps varied by regiment. Hats could be issued by the kingdom's treasury, but could also be made to order. For instance, in the Västergötland-Dals Regiment, hats were paid for by the regiment's corporals themselves and were trimmed with white braid interspersed with yellow and blue threads.⁵

Officers' hats could be sober, without lace, in imitation of the taste of Charles XII, or adorned with different types of lace, narrow or wide, with or without ornaments, or, judging from the portraits of Swedish officers, sometimes laced with twisted gold cord.

Grenadier Caps

Grenadiers caps were the most picturesque and expensive headgear in the Swedish army of that time. There are various misinterpretations and mistakes associated with this element of Swedish uniforms, therefore, this book will devote a separate chapter to grenadier caps and will discuss their design features, references in documents, and surviving artefacts in detail. Special grenadier caps were first mentioned in documents related to the Dalarna Regiment in 1699, and it was also at that time that King Charles XII ordered Swedish grenadiers to wear special caps, like their German and Dutch counterparts. At the beginning of the war, grenadier caps were probably not in use across all regiments; for example, 96 were supplied to the Södermanland Regiment in 1702.⁶

The design of grenadier caps was quite different from that of cloth karpuses. The flaps of grenadier caps could not be turned down; as a rule, they had both peaks and high fronts. A felt inner cap, trimmed with a leather band around the bottom, was inserted in the centre of the cap, and a top was sewn over the felt cap in the form of a pea pod curving backwards, at the tip of which was sewn on a tassel made of cloth or twisted wool (golden for officers). It is possible that the tassels of NCOs were silvery, just like their



Above: A fragment of a painting dating from the early 1700s depicting the Battle of Narva, 1700 (Tallinn City Museum). Infantry karpuses and uniforms are clearly visible.

Facing page: Fragments from an equestrian portrait of Charles XII, early 1700s. The King is shown in the midst of the Battle of Narva in 1700 (Art Gallery at Narva Museum). The infantrymen are shown in blue karpuses with yellow turn-up flaps and blue coats of an earlier model. (Author's photos)

⁵ Bellander, *Dräkt och uniform*, p.231.

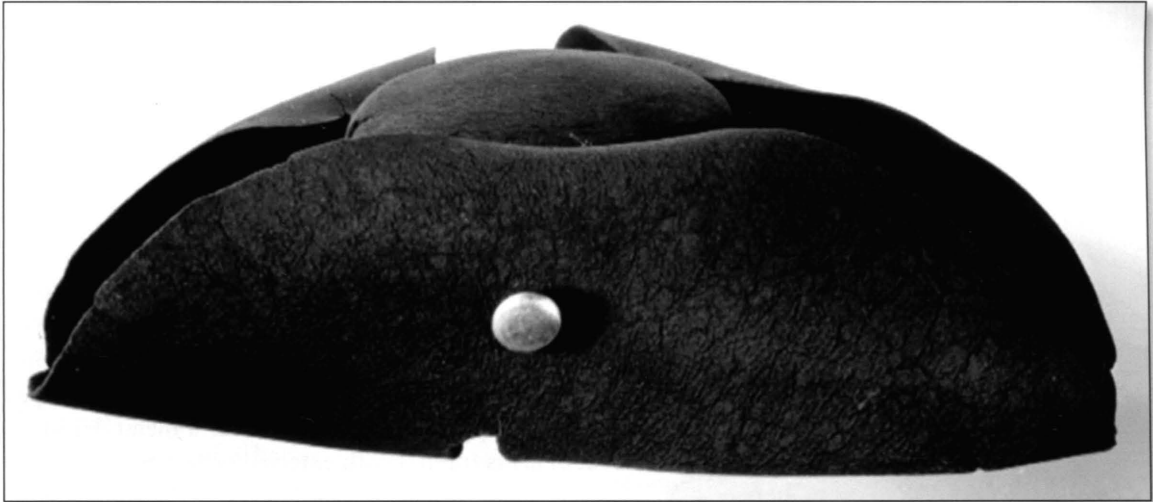
⁶ Höglund, *The Uniforms of The Swedish Army*, p.59.



Above: A fur karpus of King Charles XII, Inventory No. 12184. (Livrustkammaren Stockholm)

Below: A cloth karpus from the Nordic Museum..





Charles XII's hat.
(Livrustkammaren,
Stockholm)

silver laces. A pod-shaped metallic rod was inserted in the middle of the crown, which was also stuffed with grass to maintain its shape. The peak as well as the front and back flaps were embroidered with silk, woollen thread and appliqués in the form of royal crowns, Charles XII's cipher, coats of arms, branches, and flaming grenades. On cloth caps, the front flap (or peak) could bear the coat of arms of the province where the regiment was raised, surrounded with flaming grenades. In some cases, the front and back flaps of grenadier caps were decorated with metal plates, with embossed or openwork depictions of the royal cipher, coats of arms, crowns, flaming grenades, in some cases framed with lions. The rich decoration of grenadier caps was finished with an embroidered inscription indicating the regiment and the colonel of the grenadier. The front and back flaps, the peak, and possibly the seams of the upper part of the pod-shaped top were edged in braid or lace. The surviving cap of the provost of the Hälsingland Regiment follows the design of grenadier caps and actually features braid sewn onto the upper part of its pod-shaped top. The grenadier cap of the Guards Grenadiers of Charles Frederick, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, held in the Museum of Russian, Soviet, and Foreign Military Uniforms in Russia, has a wide lace sewn around the upper part of its pod-shaped top, and the back side of the cloth front, serving as lining under the embossed metal front plate, is also laced with the same lace. All these details, as we see, are strikingly different from the design and adornments of a plain cloth karpus.

One of the functions of a grenadier cap was to visually increase the height of the grenadier; high fronts served the same purpose, as well as the pod-shaped tops, which sometimes protruded above the front. Judging by the surviving artefacts, we can assume that the height of cloth fronts and embossed metal front plates of grenadier caps varied from 27 to 30 cm, or could be even greater. The cloth front of the grenadier cap of de la Gardie's Estonian Infantry Regiment (*de la Gardies Eständskt infanterieregemente*) is 27 cm high. The design of the cap of the Reval Garrison Regiment (*Revalska garnisonsregementet, Eständskt infanterieregemente*) is structurally very similar to that of a similar surviving Russian cap that has a pod-shaped top;

therefore, we might assume that probably it was of the same height. Together with the 'pod', the cap was 32 cm high.⁷ Grenadier caps of the Guards of Charles Frederick, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, were even higher, up to 34 cm including the front and the pod shape protruding above the front. It is probable that the grenadier cap of Guards Grenadiers of King Frederick I and Queen Ulrika Eleonora, which we will discuss below, was about the same height.

Currently, we have evidence of special grenadier caps only for several regiments. During the Great Northern War, there were several variations of grenadier cap designs:

1. Caps with a fur crown, the top usually curved back and shaped as a pea pod ending with a tasselled tip. The crown could bear a metal depiction of the regimental coat of arms framed with external ornaments or a royal cipher.
2. Caps with a small narrow fur crown, a cloth front, with the cap's top either standing upright, or curving backwards.
3. Caps entirely made of cloth, with a front and turn-up flaps of the same material. The top of such a cap could be shaped as a pea pod curving backwards, or standing upright. In the latter case, the tassel was also standing upright or, alternatively, attached to the backside of the cloth front.

There was also another category of caps: with a brass front plate which, contrary to popular belief, was not worn by the grenadier battalion of Charles XII's Life Guards Regiment of Foot. To date, there is no evidence that this battalion had any grenadier caps at all. It has long been believed that one of the few surviving brass front plates in Swedish museum collections, with the royal cipher framed by provincial coats of arms and external ornaments, belonged to the grenadiers of the Life Guard Regiment of Foot; modern Swedish researchers, however, have concluded that it belonged to the Saxon enlisted regiment (*Sachsiska infanteriregementet*) of G.D. Zengerlein.⁸

This confusion is rooted in the nineteenth century when various illustrators started to draw Charles XII's Life Guard Grenadiers wearing such caps and coats with yellow lapels. Similar illustrations made by the famous graphic artists R. Knötel and E. Strokirch made their way unchallenged from publication to publication and were used by other artists for their reconstructions. For example, the painter G. Cederström depicted the funeral procession with the body of Charles XII by drawing grenadiers in uniforms with lapels. In reality, Guards grenadiers wearing such uniforms could only belong to a later period from the very end of the 1710s (after the death of Charles XII) to the mid 1720s, the reign of King Frederick I and Queen Ulrika Eleonora. The collection

7 Sovershennaya Viktoriya, katalog vystavki, SPb, 2009, p.349.

8 Höglund, *The Great Northern War*, pp.14–15.

of the Stockholm Army Museum includes an example of such a front plate from a grenadier cap, with the royal cipher, lions, and coats of arms dating from this period.⁹ The design of this plate is almost identical to the embossed plate of the above-mentioned cap of the Saxon enlisted regiment.

The assumption that Charles XII's Life Guard grenadiers had caps with front plates might have emerged by analogy with the grenadier caps of the Guards of Charles Frederick, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp. He was a nephew of the King and a claimant to the Swedish throne, while the army of Charles Frederick's father fought on the Swedish side. The Duke himself wore a Swedish uniform, at least until he arrived in Russia in 1721, where he was invited to arrange a marriage with Peter the Great's eldest daughter.¹⁰ The cap of his Guards, held in the Museum of Russian, Soviet, and Foreign Military Uniforms, was probably made in the early 1720s, has a blue cloth pod-shaped top, and a blue front with its backside trimmed with lace. To this cloth front is in turn secured a metal front plate with a similar pattern: a crown, a coat of arms, lions, and a grenade. After the death of Charles XII, King Frederick I ascended the throne and it was under his reign that the Great Northern War ended. The collection of the Artillery Hall of Memorable and Unmemorable Items in St Petersburg (the 'Memorable Hall', currently the Military Historical Museum of Artillery, Engineers and Signal Corps, or simply St Petersburg Artillery Museum) once included a cap dating from his reign: 'a Swedish cap of blue velvet, lace with silver, with a gilded brass plate bearing the Swedish coat of arms and the cipher FR.'¹¹ It is not known where this cap is now, but the Army Museum in Stockholm has a gilded plate from a cap of the Guards regiment, also with Frederick I's cipher (*Plåt till grenadjärmössa för Livgardet till fot FREDERIK I*). Therefore, thanks to the description, we can combine all these data to get an idea of such a cap could look like).



A provost of the Hälsingland Regiment. (Author's illustration)

⁹ Bellander, *Dräkt och uniform*, pp.275–277.

¹⁰ F.W. Bergholz, *Dnevnik kamer-yunkera Bergkholtza, vedenniy im v Rossii v tsastvovaniye Petra Velikogo, s 1721 po 1725 god*, M., 1858, Part 1, 1721, p.24.

¹¹ I.D. Talyzin, *Opisaniye artilleriyskogo zala dostopamyatnykh i nedostopamyatnykh predmetov 1862 g.*, SPb, 2006, p.73.



The front and a reconstruction of a grenadier cap of the Saxon Infantry Regiment (*Sachsiska infanterregementet*). (AM.015491, Stockholm Army Museum, and author's illustration)



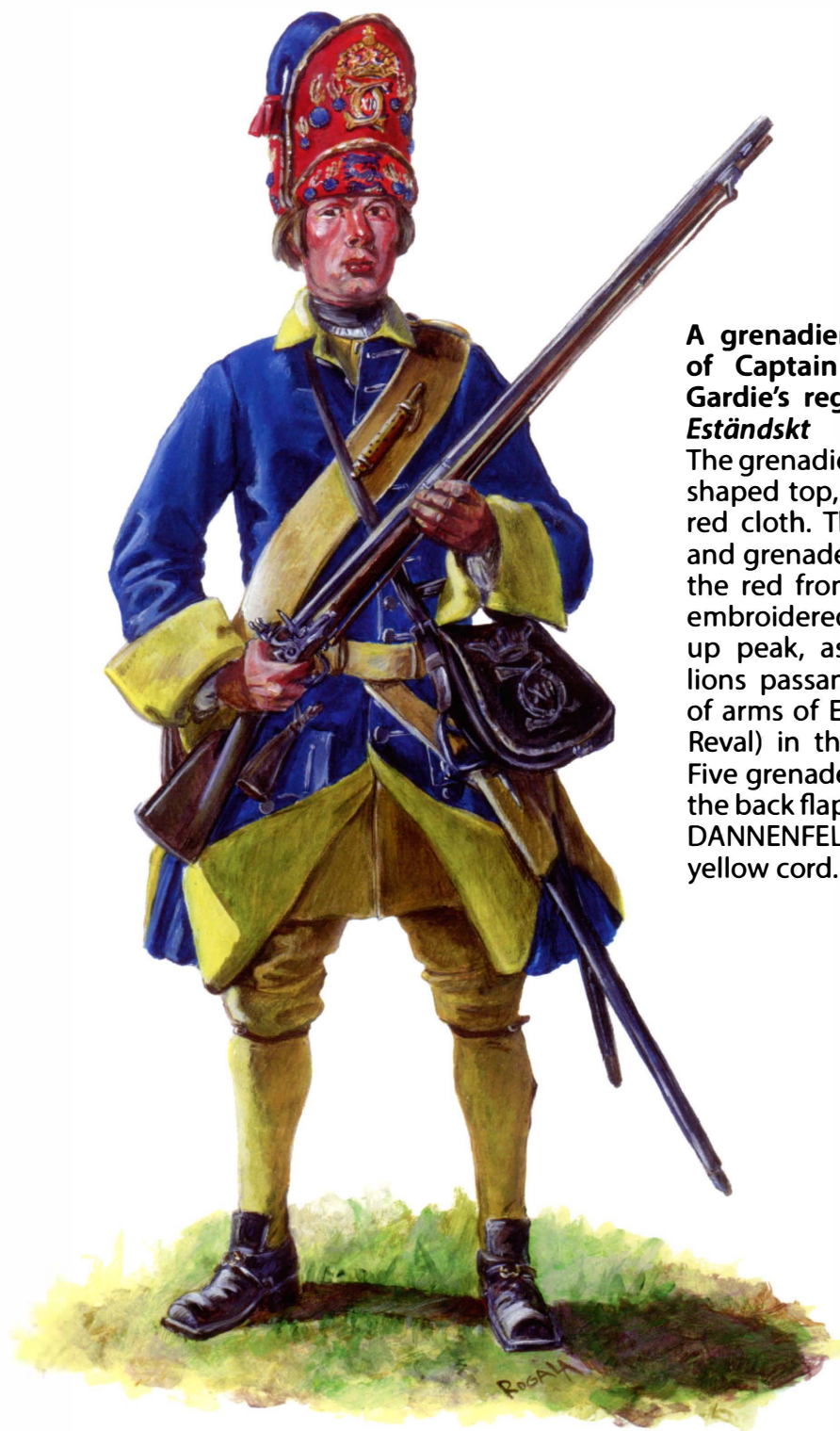
THE UNIFORM OF ALLOTTED AND ENLISTED INFANTRY REGIMENTS OF CHARLES XII



Left and below: A cap of the provost of the Hälsingland Regiment. Martin Markelius of the Stockholm Army Museum suggests the plate may be a later addition. (AM.021790, Stockholm Army Museum)



Left: An embossed front plate, Life Guard Regiment of Foot (*Livgardet till fot*), Frederick I. (AM.023007, Stockholm Army Museum)



A grenadier from the company of Captain Dannenfeld, de la Gardie's regiment (*de la Gardies Eständskt infanterieregemente*). The grenadier's cap has a blue pod-shaped top, with a tassel made of red cloth. The royal coat of arms and grenades are embroidered on the red front, with grenades also embroidered on the red stand-up peak, as well as three azure lions passant (the provincial coat of arms of Estonia, and the city of Reval) in the centre of the peak. Five grenades are embroidered on the back flap, with GRENADIERS DE DANNENFELD inscribed below in yellow cord.



A grenadier from the company of Captain Dannenfeld of de la Gardie's regiment (*de la Gardies Eständskt infanterieregemente*). The grenadier is preparing to throw a hand grenade. Before doing so, he has slung his musket over his back, taken the slow-match out of the match case with his left hand, and blown the match. The grenadier has taken a grenade from his bag with his right hand.



Above, and facing page: A grenadier cap of de la Gardie's Regiment (*de la Gardies Eständskt infanterieregemente*). Side and back view. (Museum of Artillery, St Petersburg. Author's photo)





Left: A grenadier officer of the King's German Life Guard Regiment of Foot (*Kunglig Majestäts Tyska Livregemente till Fot*). The officer is wearing a lavishly decorated grenadier cap, with its front embroidered with inscriptions, grenades, and the royal coat of arms. The officer's coat is very sober, this is a variation of the cut of the 'younger Carolean model' based on the surviving coat of C. Drakenhielm, with buttons stopping short of the skirts' hem, without lace, but with a collar.

Facing page: A grenadier of the Saxon enlisted regiment (*Sachsiska infanteriregementet*), 1717. The grenadier is preparing to throw a hand grenade. His uniform is of the same type as previously described, with the coat and breeches made of blue cloth. The grenadier is wearing standard accoutrements and weapons as shown on previous plates, except that the grenade bag is made of black leather. The key distinctive feature of this grenadier is that he is wearing a cap with a brass front plate with the royal cipher, coats of arms, and external ornaments (based on a surviving example from the collection of the Stockholm Army Museum).



In his series of plates, E. Strokirch showed two more Swedish grenadiers of the Uppland Regiment (*Upplands regemente*) and the Skaraborg Regiment (*Skaraborgs regemente*). Unfortunately, the sources for these two drawings are unknown. The cap of the Uppland Regiment's grenadier is shown with a copper front plate with a royal cipher framed with lions and other external ornaments, as well as a top in the form of a long hanging hood. The picture of the Skaraborg Regiment's grenadier shows a cap with a small front plate and also with a long hanging hood. In terms of design, this pattern is closer to the Saxon caps of the 1730s.

The next category of copper front plates includes the front plates on caps of regimental provosts.¹² Why provosts wore caps of a design similar to that of grenadier caps remains unclear so far. The Stockholm Army Museum has two front plates of the Södermanland Regiment and a cap of the provost of the Hälsingland Regiment with a plate in the form of the regimental coat of arms framed with fasces, axes, and other external ornaments. The plate is attached to a fur band, with the cap's top shaped as a pea pod. Probably, grenadiers of these regiments wore a cap of the same design. About 10 years ago, there was news about a metal front plate with the royal cipher and the city's coat of arms found during the construction of a building in Jönköping. The local fortress was garrisoned by the infantry regiment of the same name (*Jönköpings regemente*). Unfortunately, the further fate of the find is unknown to the author of this book.

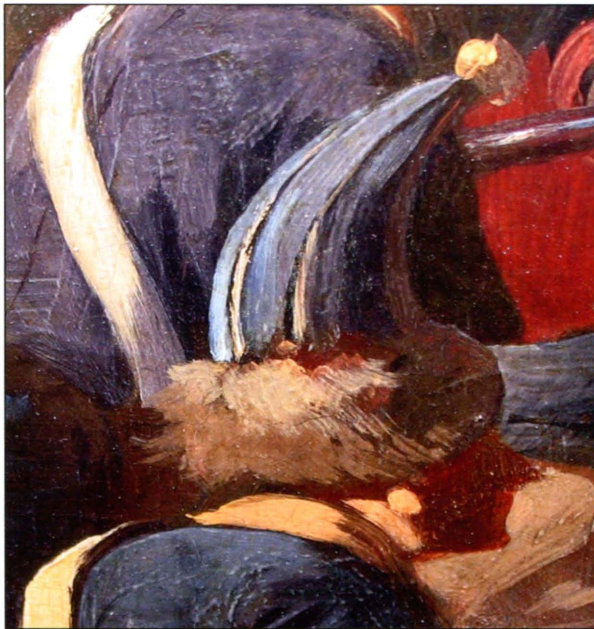
There are a number of caps, considered to be Swedish caps from the period of the Great Northern War, which are, or were, kept in the collections of Russian museums.

1. 'A Swedish cap, of blue cloth with a brass plate, on which two lions support an escutcheon with two crosses and a crown above them and many other elements'.¹³ This cap was held in the Artillery Hall in St Petersburg (now St Petersburg Artillery Museum); its fate is unknown. There are certain discrepancies in the description of this cap: there was no regiment with such symbols in the army of Charles XII, and no Swedish province with such a coat of arms. However, the city of Danzig (Gdańsk) had a similar coat of arms, as well as, interestingly enough, the family of Count Sheremetev. Therefore, it is possible that this cap has nothing to do with Sweden and belonged to some military unit in the service of the free city of Danzig, or a previously unknown Russian grenadier cap of a unit formed by Count Sheremetev. The Sheremetev version is indirectly supported by the description mentioning 'many other elements', as the Count's coat of arms actually features multiple elements: a crown on an escutcheon in a laurel wreath – the coat of arms of the Prussian lords and two crosses, a boyar hat under them with a spear and a sword on a crescent; a crown and a helmet on top of the escutcheon, an oak between stars on the helmet crest, two lions as supporters, and so on.

¹² Bellander, *Dräkt och uniform*, pp.275–277.

¹³ Talyzin, *Opisaniye artilleriy skogo*, p.73.

2. 'A Swedish cap, of blue cloth, with a peak and red flaps. A double cipher 'C' of yellow cloth is sewn on the front. With a sharp pointed top, curving backwards.'¹⁴ The cap was also kept in the collection of the Artillery Hall (now St Petersburg Artillery Museum). It was exhibited at an exhibition commemorating the anniversary of the Battle of Poltava, with relevant information published in the exhibition's catalogue.¹⁵ Its red front has grenades sewn onto it, with three azure lions passant (the coat of arms of the province of Estonia and the city of Reval (Tallinn)). There are five grenades on the back flap; an inscription is made on the bottom part with a yellow cord: GRENADIERS DE DANNENFELD. The cap, therefore, belonged to Captain Dannenfeld's grenadier company of de la Gardie's Regiment in Estland.



The cap on the Swedish grenadier in Kotzebue's painting.

3. 'A cap of blue cloth, with a standing peak of yellow cloth; with five embroidered grenades on the peak. The cipher CXII of yellow cloth sewn onto the cap's front, with two lions of the same cloth on each side, holding a crown of yellow cloth above the cipher. The inscription GRENADIERS DU COMTE MELLIN on the cap's back flap. There is a crown above the inscription and crossed palm branches beneath the inscription. A yellow woollen tassel on the top.' The blue front and back flap are lined with yellow cloth on the backside. The inscription embroidered in red on the back flap is located in the middle. The yellow crown above the inscription is a cloth appliqué edged in cord, two yellow cloth palm branches are placed under the inscription, also edged in yellow and blue cord. The cap has partially retained fragments of braid, which probably was originally white or yellow. In 1840–1841, this cap was kept in the collection of the Armoury of His Imperial Majesty's Palace in St Petersburg, and is currently under restoration. The inventory does not indicate whether the cap's top (which has been lost) was straight or pod-shaped. Given the overall similarity of its design with that of the cap of de la Gardie's Regiment, and with the Russian grenadier cap from the Suvorov Museum in St Petersburg, the pod-shaped top of which has survived to our days, we may reasonably assume that its tasselled top also curved back. The hat has partly retained fragments of braid, which was probably originally yellow in colour. We may assume that this cap belonged to the Reval Garrison Regiment.

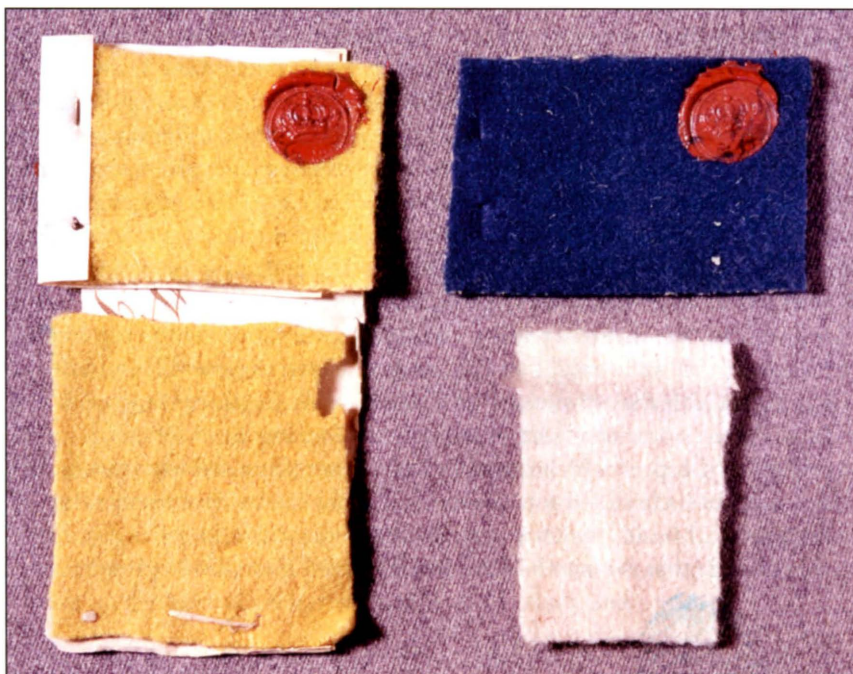
¹⁴ Talyzin, *Opisaniye artilleriy skogo*, p.73.

¹⁵ Sovershennaya Viktoriya, katalog vystavki, SPb, 2009, p.349.

A cap of a grenadier officer of the enlisted German Life Guard Regiment of Foot (*Kunglig Majestäts Tyska Livregemente till fot*).



Colour and cloth pattern samples. (AM.015424, Stockholm Army Museum)



4. The fourth known cap is in the collection of the State Historical Museum in Moscow. The blue velvet front is embroidered with grenades in gold and a motto, *LA DERNIERE RAISON DES PRINCES*; the back is embroidered with the inscription *GRENADIERS DE LIVE*, grenades, a crown, and laurel branches in gold. The background for the coat of arms and branches is also blue velvet sewn onto the white satin front. The back flap is also made of white satin. A crown is embroidered in gold and silver on the front, with a coat of arms underneath, and lions as supporters on each side. Considering the combination of colours, the cap could belong to a grenadier officer of the King's German Life Guard Regiment of Foot (*Kunglig Majestäts Tyska Livregemente till fot*, an enlisted regiment). It was exhibited at the exhibition of the State Historical Museum commemorating the anniversary of the Battle of Poltava, with relevant information published in the exhibition catalogue.¹⁶ The description in the catalogue indicates other materials: leather and canvas, which are probably inserted inside the cap. The photo shows that the cap has retained its silk lining, while the floral ornaments, felt base, frame, and top of the cap have been lost. We can only infer from similar artefacts what it looked like. The top was either small and upright or, most likely, was bent backwards, as on other caps of a similar design that we know. The top could be of white or blue colour, and most likely of the same material as the one used on the front: blue velvet or white silk. Unfortunately the tassel has also been lost, but if there was one it was probably made of twisted gold and silver thread

5. The fifth grenadier cap relevant to this topic is a cap of the Guards of Charles Frederick, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp (Museum of Russian, Soviet, and Foreign Military Uniforms). The cap is likely to have been made in the 1720s and has an embossed gilded front plate depicting two lions under a large crown, who hold the coat of arms of Charles Frederick, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, with a large grenade embossed underneath the coat of arms, imitating an upright peak. This composition is very similar to the front plate of the grenadier cap of the period of King Frederick I and Queen Ulrika Eleonora, from the collection of the Stockholm Army Museum. The embossed plate is attached to a similarly high (30 cm) blue cloth front, trimmed with lace on the backside. A 34 cm-high blue cloth pod-shaped top continuing into a round crown rises above the front. The Holstein grenadier cap has a pelta-shaped plate along the red flap trimmed with lace, with a grenade embossed in the middle of the plate. An embossed plate, similar in shape, also considered to date from the period of the Great Northern War, is held in the Stockholm Army Museum (AM inv. 3044). It has a large grenade embossed in the middle, with flags, cannons, and other external ornaments on each side.¹⁷ Given the decoration on the front and back plates of these caps are similar to each other, we may assume that other details of the Swedish Guards' grenadier cap dating from the reign of King Frederick I and Queen Ulrika Eleonora were also made in a style similar to the Holstein cap.

¹⁶ Poltavskaya bataliya 27 iyunya 1709, buklet vystavki, M., 2009, p.38.

¹⁷ Bellander, *Dräkt och uniform*, p.275.

A grenadier sergeant of the Garrison Regiment in Stade (*Garnisonsregemente i Stade*), 1710. The grenadier's cap is lavishly decorated with silver embroidery, with grenades and the royal cipher embroidered on the front and peak. The regiment's coats were lined red. The coat's cuffs are also edged in silver. The coat was fastened with silver buttons. The grenade bag is yellow leather with a red cover, with a flaming grenade embroidered in silver. A leather waistcoat and breeches, red stockings. The sergeant is armed with a musket, bayonet, and sword.





A grenadier of B. Mellin's regiment (*Mellins Eständskt infanterieregemente*) on the march. The grenadier is wearing a leather haversack on his back.

6. Finally, another cap that is worth mentioning comes from the collection of the Artillery Hall of Memorable and Unmemorable Items in St Petersburg, also believed to be Swedish, and also presumably dating from the period of the Great Northern War. It was also kept in the room with Swedish trophies and is described as 'a Swedish cap, of blue cloth, with a bearskin band, with a sharp pointed top, tilted forward.'¹⁸ Its design, however, is so unusual that it is still difficult to determine which regiment it belonged to. This cap was depicted by the artist Kotzebue in his famous painting, *The Battle of Narva* (St Petersburg Artillery Museum). The cap's band is shown to be entirely of light-coloured fur, although the fur fragment that has survived on the cap is brown. It has a long curved top of blue cloth, with a felt base and a rod in the middle to maintain its shape. The top is four-sided, pointing forward, trimmed at the edges with white braid and decorated with a white tassel on the tip.

Therefore, it is quite safe to say that at least three of the surviving caps from the collections of Russian museums belonged to Swedish grenadiers of Charles XII's army and one of them can be identified as an officer's cap. Some other caps, belonging to unknown regiments of the Great Northern War period, are described in documents, but only one of them, a blue one with a curved top and a bearskin band, has survived.

In his landmark book, Höglund points out the presence of grenadiers in the following regiments:

The Södermanland Regiment – presumably blue with yellow elements.

The Dalarna Regiment – we know that the regiment's grenadiers had caps, but we do not know what they looked like.

The Queen Dowager's Life Guard Regiment in Pomerania (*Riksäskedrottningens Livregemente i Pommern*) – a fur-trimmed cap, presumably of white cloth, with a crown and the Queen Dowager's cipher of blue cloth on a cloth front. G. Tessin writes about the cap's white hanging hood falling on the soldier's back.¹⁹

The Pomeranian Infantry Regiment – yellow caps with blue tassels, trimmed with bear fur, decorated with a brass crown and cipher on the front and back. NCOs' caps of the same design, but of blue cloth, with yellow tassels.

The Garrison Regiment in Stade – blue caps, with officer caps decorated with appliqués and embroidery in gold and silver.

The Saxon enlisted regiment of G.D. Zengerlein – grenadier caps (as

¹⁸ Talyzin, *Opisaniye artilleriy skogo*, p.73.

¹⁹ G. Tessin, *Wismars schwedische Regimenter im Nordischen Kriege, Mecklenburgische Jahrbücher*, 1938, Bd. 102, p.240.

already mentioned above) with copper front plates featuring a royal cipher, coats of arms, and other external ornaments.

It is worth briefly mentioning the hypothetical cap of the Garrison Regiment in Narva (*Garnisonsregemente i Narva*), as it only exists as a hypothetical graphic reconstruction.²⁰ It is presumably made of blue cloth with yellow lining and is similar in terms of its design and the front pattern to those of de la Gardie's Regiment. However, there is no convincing evidence that such a cap did exist. It is known that the Narva garrison had grenadiers, which is documented in Peter the Great's *Journal*, which mentions a renegade grenadier.²¹ But it is unclear whether they wore caps. It is also unclear whether such caps were similar to the graphic reconstruction.

According to Höglund, not all Swedish regiments had special caps for grenadiers. There are no data about many regiments, and the little data that has survived shows that grenadiers used cloth karpuses instead of grenadier caps, for example in the Skaraborg Regiment.²² Inventory records of infantry regiments dating from the 1701–1702 campaign in Livonia also often list karpuses. We may conclude, therefore, that the Swedish army used grenadier caps of several types, according to the military fashion trends of that time; we may also state that their use was not ubiquitous as many regiments replaced them with cloth karpuses.

Infantry Uniforms: The Coat and Overcoat (Pajrock)

The colour scheme of the Swedish infantry uniforms had been generally established by the time of the outbreak of the Great Northern War. Coats were mostly in shades of blue, or grey, with yellow facings (lining, cuffs, and piping on shoulder straps), but with white or black neckcloths in almost all of the regiments. The exceptions included the Västerbotten Regiment, which had white facings and white neckcloths, and the Närke-Värmland Regiment and the Jönköping Regiment, which had red facings and red neckcloths. This system was disrupted after the Poltava disaster, so in the 1710s coats were made of the material that was available, and lined with whatever cloth that could be found. The coats of the Carolean infantry were knee-length, sometimes slightly higher. They had a narrow standing or a wider turn-down collar. Shoulder seams were shifted to the upper back (tailored), with a shoulder strap attached on one side (left) or two shoulder straps attached on both sides, sometimes piped with the regimental facing colour. The armhole was set high, the sleeves had small slit cuffs, which sometimes had buttons along their upper edge, but by the mid 1700s buttons were placed along the cuff slit more and more often. The number of buttons on the centre front varied, as well as the spacing between them. During the first phase of the war, buttons could be sewn down to the hem of the coat's skirts, but,

20 A. Åberg and G. Göransson, *Karoliner. Tryckt i Jugoslavien*, 1989, p.52.

21 *Pohodniy zhurnal 1704 goda*, p.577.

22 Höglund, *The Great Northern War*, p.66.

approximately since 1704, buttons were more and more often sewn only down to the waistline. The cut of soldiers' coats in 1702–1704 had changed, as inserts were added in the side vents of the coat's skirts to form pleats, with a button sewn on top of the pleats. Sometimes, a button could also be placed at the bottom of the side pleats or the pleats could be simply sewn together. The pocket flaps were of various shapes – rectangular horizontal or pentagonal, with a varying number of buttons on them. Since the time when the buttons started to be sewn only down to the waist, the pocket flaps were sewn on the coat tails approximately at the level of the last button. The lining in facing colours was only used in places where it was visible, with undyed fabric used in places that were hidden from view. Since the late 1690s, small hooks were sewn into the corners of the skirts, which could be used to fasten them up when turned back. On coats, buttons were not sewn to the cloth, but a hole was punched through the fabric, with the button's ear pushed through the hole, and a leather or thread cord used to fasten the button on the inside, between the cloth and the lining.

The Overcoat (Pajrock)

Along with standard coats, a simplified coat-like model known as a *pajrock* started to gain popularity in infantry, starting from the outbreak of the war and more and more often towards 1709 and beyond. This type of coat looked more like a frock coat, had a simpler cut, and was wider than a coat, which made it possible to put it over the coat. No Swedish pajrocks have survived. But something resembling pajrocks has survived from among the clothes of Peter the Great. We know at least two items: one double-breasted in green, and one single-breasted in brown.²³ They have one thing in common: a much wider cut as compared to the ordinary coats and a collar of a size rather similar to the collar of a cloak. The single-breasted coat also features a narrower collar sewn onto the large one, which could be turned up and fastened round the neck. It is difficult to say to what extent items that were used for the same purpose in the Swedish army were similar to these coats, and whether they had similar names. The surviving descriptions of materials issued to regiments for pajrocks mention fabric for collars; therefore, it would be reasonable to assume that they had the shape of collars of Swedish cloaks of that period. Pajrocks probably had no pockets and flaps (at least soldiers' pajrocks). The pajrock combined the functions of a coat and a cloak, essentially being a prototype of the modern coat. Pajrock sleeves needed to be wide enough to be worn over a coat. The pajrock was used as a cloak and probably offered better protection from the cold than ordinary short cloaks. This was especially true for the warfare during the winters of 1714–1718. In rare cases, buttons on coats and pajrocks of privates and non-commissioned officers could be brass, lenticular, hollow, or soldered together from two halves, but as a rule, pewter buttons were used for coats.²⁴

²³ Ye Moiseyenko, 'Fakultet nuzhnykh veshchey', *Zhurnal Ermitazh* No. 1, Summer 2003, p.47.

²⁴ *Historiska Handlingar*, pp.158–159.



A coat dating from the reign of Charles XI (c. 1683).
(AM.015470, Stockholm Army Museum)





Above: Variations in the appearance and decoration of pajrocks (musicians or NCOs). (Author's illustration)

Below: Buttons with the cipher of Charles XII. Found in the vicinity of Narva. (Private collection; author's photos)



Until recently, Swedish buttons were thought to have no pattern on them, but were simply cast flat, or somewhat convex, pewter buttons. However, pewter buttons with a crown and the royal cipher have been found recently on the battlefields of the Great Northern War near Narva, in Karelia, and at the Pulkovo heights near St Petersburg. It is difficult to say which units they belonged to, but it is interesting to note that the buttonholes on the coats of privates were made using two principal methods: they were either worked with dyed or non-dyed thread, or bound with welts in the facing colour.²⁵ Buttonholes on officers' and NCOs' coats could be lined with silk, laced, and then worked with thread.

The Evolution of Carolean Uniforms

At least from 1687, Swedish infantry regiments differed by the colour of their neckcloths, stockings, collars, and cuffs.²⁶ The four known samples of uniforms from the 1670–1680s already show variations in their cut and adornments. The typical features of the future Carolean uniform (with its blue colour that later became the standard colour for the Swedish army and the famous pentagonal pocket flaps) were already noticeable at that time.²⁷ The diary of the young king contains a drawing dating back to the 1680s, which shows a pikeman; interestingly enough, the pikeman is already wearing a coat with pentagonal flaps featuring multiple buttons. Unfortunately, only one variation of the coat, dating from c. 1683, has survived: it is without a collar, and is of blue wool cloth (*kläde*), with a pronounced plain-weave texture (AM.015470). Originally, the coat was lined with dyed red wadmal (*vadmal*). In the course of its restoration, the lining was replaced with yellow wool (*gult ylletyg*). This single-breasted coat had 35 pewter buttons with Charles XI's cipher; it had 23 buttons on the centre front, but only 12 of them could be fastened down to the waist, while the others were non-functional. Martin Markelius of the Army Museum in Stockholm has suggested that the buttons are possibly a later nineteenth-century addition. The buttonholes were worked with thread; the shoulder straps were fastened with two small buttons; three small buttons

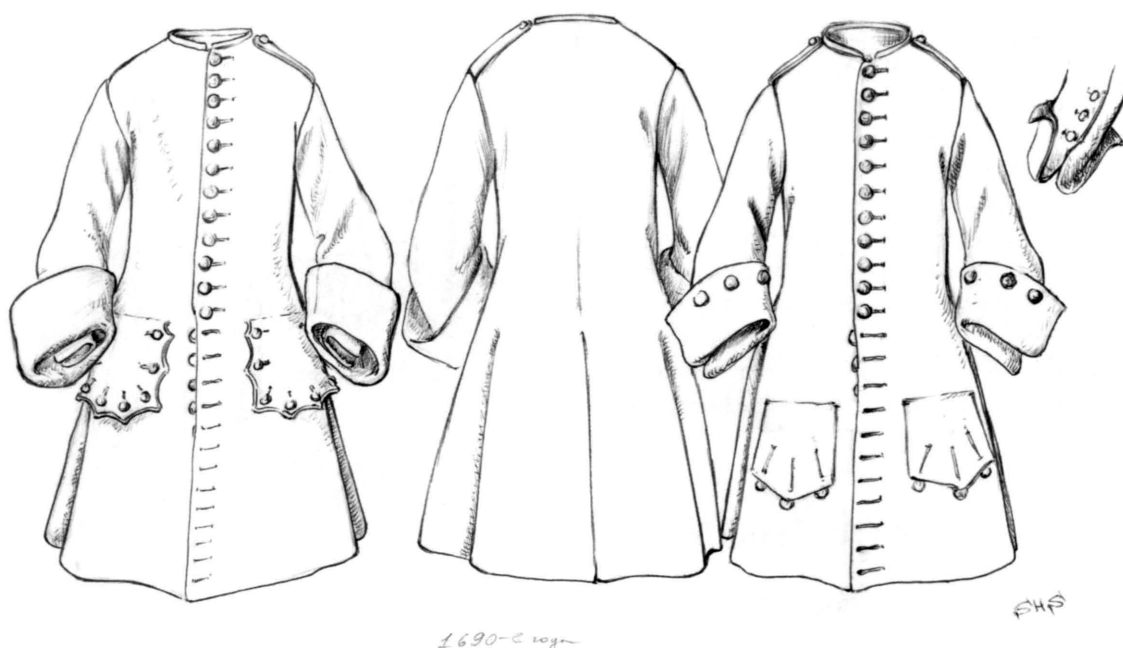


A pikeman (a drawing from the diary of Charles XII). (Photo from author's collection)

25 O. Shamenkova, *Voyenniy i grazhdanskiy kostyumnachala 18 veka v detalyakh*. Prilozheniye: vykroyki (Odessa, 2007), pp.32, 52–54.

26 Bellander, *Dräkt och uniform*, p.198.

27 K. Kronoberg, *Uniform* (Stockholm: Armémuseum, 2010), pp.25–33.



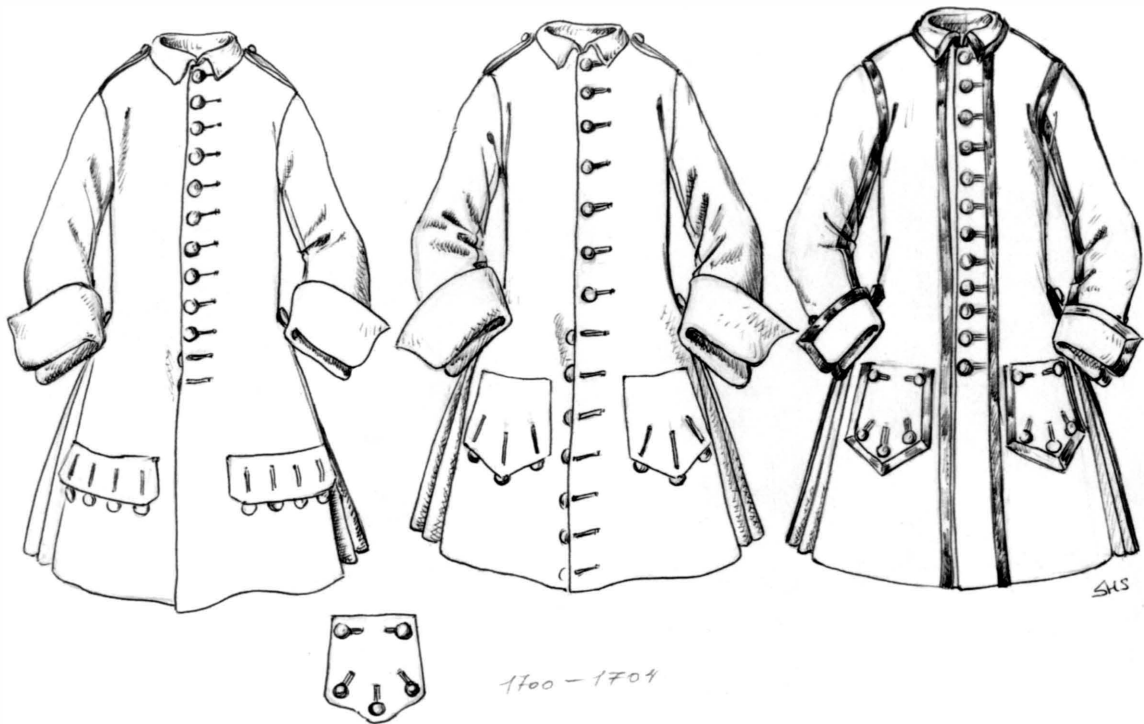
Variations of the coat's cut in the 1690s. (Author's illustration)

were sewn on each sleeve; and another 12 buttons were sewn on the flaps of vertical pockets. The pocket flaps start at the level of the eleventh or twelfth buttonhole. When turned up, the trapezoid shaped cuffs were about 30 cm wide in their widest part on the outside, about 20 cm in the middle, and about 12 cm on the inside. The collar was a narrow standing collar, but we know that as early as the second half of the 1680s, turn-down collars came into use on coats. For instance, we can see such a collar in a portrait by David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl, *Well-Master at Medevi and His Sons* (dated c. 1686). The picture clearly shows the collar and small cuffs, which replaced the large round cuffs. This coat (AM.015470) and its variations served as the basis for further modifications.

At the end of the 1680s and in the early 1690s, many infantry regiments, which had previously had uniforms of different colours,²⁸ adopted blue uniforms with respective regimental facing colours (yellow in most regiments). It is likely that these new uniforms had about the same number of buttons as on the surviving coat AM.015470, but there were exceptions. In 1688, the Dalarna Regiment had 48 brass buttons, while the Närke-Värmland Regiment had 42 buttons for privates, and 54 buttons for corporals in 1691.²⁹ These additional buttons were probably used to decorate the pocket flaps or side vents (possibly as on the model shown on the pikeman in the drawing from the diary of Charles XII). Apparently, during the same period, the cut of the sleeves was modernised as sleeves that exposed the buttoned wristbands of the shirt and wide and high-set cuffs went out of fashion. In 1695, the Life

28 Åberg and Göransson, *Karoliner. Tryckt i Jugoslavien*, pp.62–72.

29 Höglund, *The Great Northern War*, p.13.

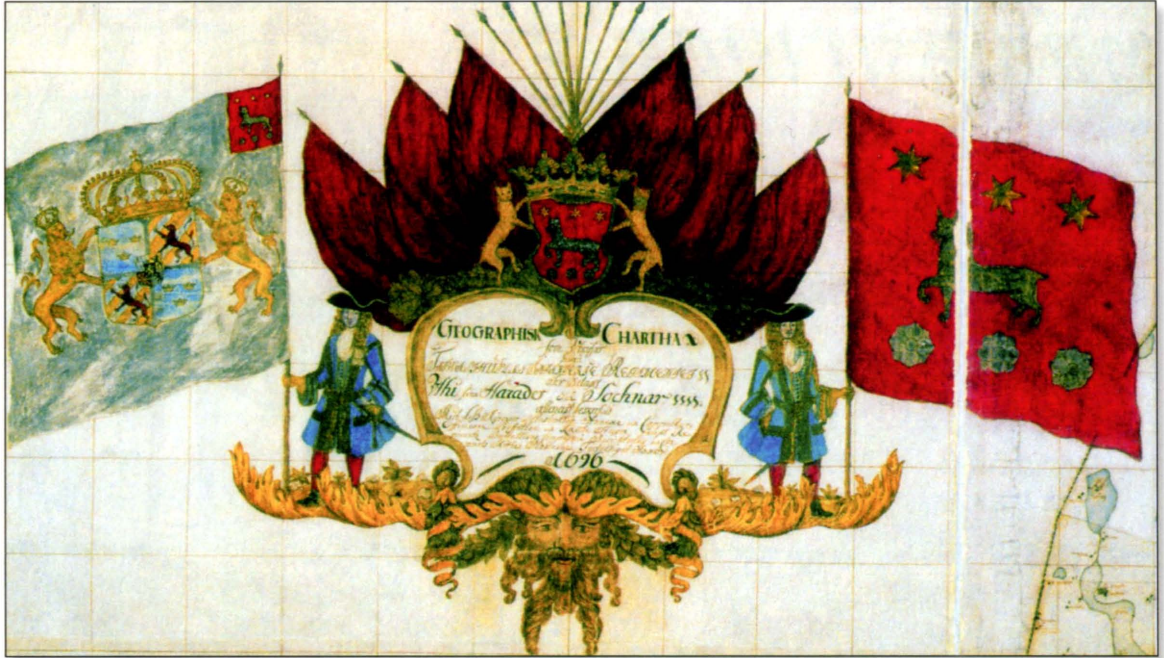


1700-1704

Guards, and probably some of the other regiments of the Swedish army, were issued new coats made of blue cloth (*rock av blått kläde*), primarily for officers and NCOs. NCOs were to have new coats with blue lining and silver laces, while privates (*manskapet*) were to have yellow lining and pewter buttons. In 1680–1699, there were 36 buttons on the Life Guards' coats based on the 1680 coat model, with 24 buttons on the coat itself, six on the pocket flaps, and six on the sleeves. The surviving artworks of the second half of the 1690s provide examples of the 1695 coat model. In 1694, the shape and position of pocket flaps changed from two vertical pocket flaps of the old model to the famous Carolean pentagonal flaps or to narrow horizontal rectangular flaps, for example as in the Åbo County Regiment (*Åbo läns regemente*), while the number of buttons could vary.³⁰ The shape of the Carolean pentagonal flap was not always the same, it could be of different sizes, different cuts, with flat edges, or with a triangular bottom edge, or with a different number of buttonholes. Such flaps usually had three buttonholes, but there were also flaps with five or seven buttonholes; iconographic sources even show examples with a greater number of buttonholes. As with pentagonal flaps, the style of rectangular flaps could vary: with straight, bevelled, or rounded corners, and also with a varying number of buttonholes. In the portrait of Rehnskiöld dated 1695, we see a coat with about 16 buttons on the centre front, and three buttons on each cuff.

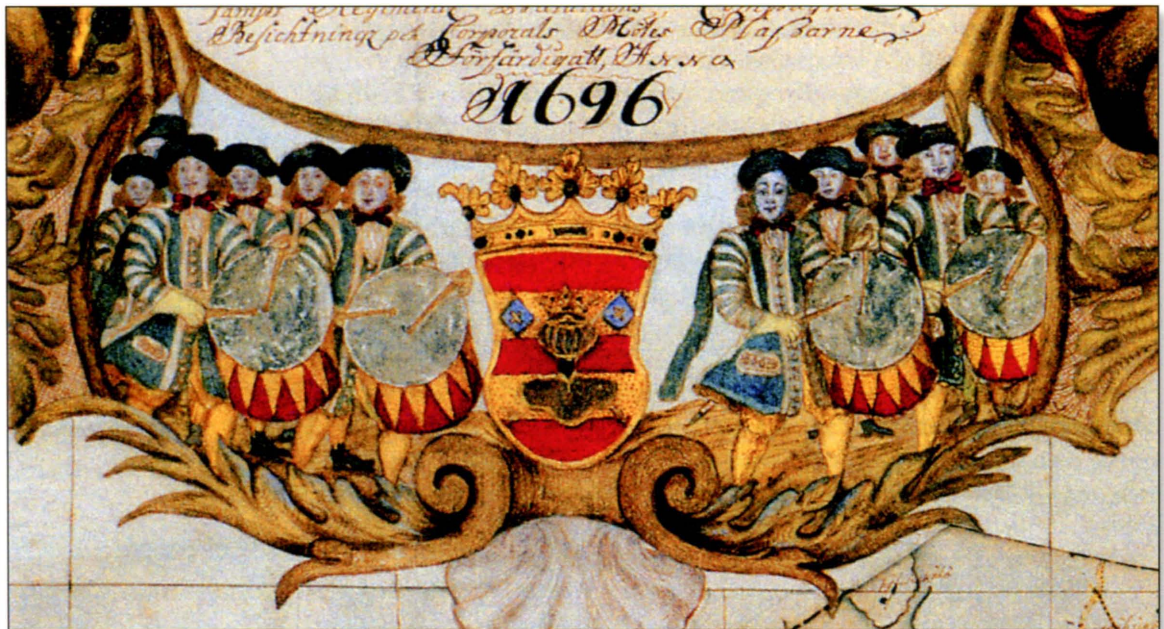
Variations of the cut and decoration of NCOs' coats, 1700–1704. (Author's illustration)

³⁰ Högland, *The Great Northern War*, p.67.



Above: Officers of the Nyland Regiment from the Geographic Map, 1696 (Kungl. Krigsarkivet).

Below: Drummers from the Geographic Map, 1696 (Kungl. Krigsarkivet).



The coats of drummers and officers of the Nyland Regiment from the Geographic Map, 1696 (*Kungl. Krigsarkivet*) clearly show the number of buttons on these coats and the shape of the horizontal pocket flap. As we see, in the mid 1690s, privates' coats no longer had the two false vertical pocket flaps, nor large round (not slit) cuffs. In 1699 the new king, Charles XII, approved new uniforms for the Life Guards and other infantry regiments. Infantrymen were to have a new kind of coat (*rock*), single-breasted, made of blue Swedish cloth, with the Swedish-style collar and small cuffs (*ärmuppslag*) in regimental colours, with woollen (*boj*) lining, except for the sleeves where plain cloth (probably linen) was to be used. Waistcoats (*tröja*), as well as the breeches, were to be of quality goatskin or buckskin. Other garments included hats trimmed with braid of white camel yarn or thread, black canvas neckcloths, and woollen stockings in the regimental colour: 'Alla regementen till fot bör ha lika gjord beklädning och mundering. Byxorna bör alltid vara av skinn (bock- eller renhud) och ej vidare brukas av kläde, när eget kläde är uppgånget, som ännu kan finnas i K. Maj:ts och Kronans förråd.'³¹

The uniform of this type can be seen in the portraits of Charles XII of the early 1700s, by D. von Kraft and J.D. Schwarz, as well as in the portrait of Frederick of Holstein-Gottorp.

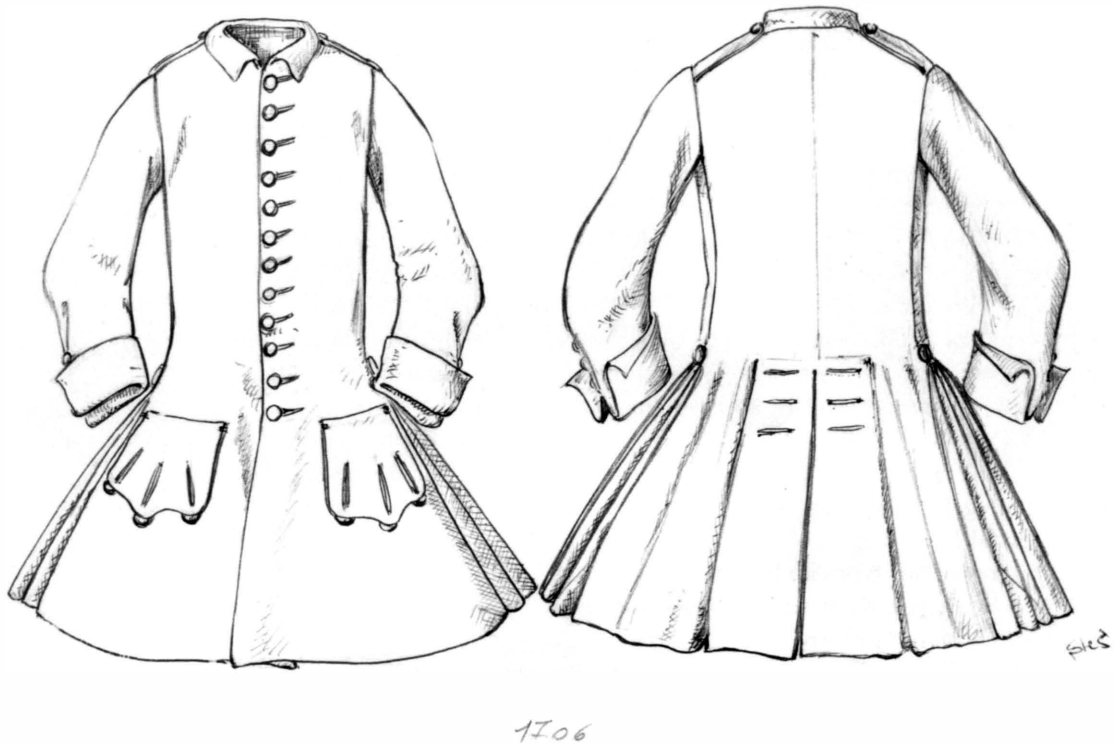
The new uniform differed in details from the previous model. Officers and NCOs of the Life Guards received wider coats than before, with an additional $\frac{3}{4}$ cubit of fabric used for these purposes.³² The buttons on the 1699 model were placed as follows: 12 buttons on the centre front, five buttons on each pocket, one button on top of the skirts on each side, and one on each shoulder strap (26 in total). One or two shoulder straps piped in the regimental facing colour were sewn onto the coat's shoulders. After these modifications, the coat became similar to the *justaucorps*, but probably the centre front edges could remain straight, without the skirts overlapping each other at the bottom. As a result, the coat became slightly longer, with pleats added in the area of the back and side vents, which significantly increased the consumption of fabric for its manufacturing. As for the rest, the main difference consisted in the adornments.³³ Despite the royal edict, the manufacturing of the new uniform for all ranks was delayed, and lower ranks of the Life Guards did not receive their full sets of uniforms until a few years later. The reason was that the fabric and partially completed uniforms did arrive in Livonia in 1702, but the entire batch of the new uniforms intended for the Life Guards was commandeered by the Governor of Riga (Frölich) and issued to the garrison units of Livonia! Completely unexpectedly, they were able to replace their old, worn-out uniforms with the newest model, and that of the Guards to boot!³⁴ Given the above, it is quite obvious that the Life Guards (like almost all other regiments of the Swedish army) fought during the 1700–1702 campaign in their old Model 1695 uniforms, which

³¹ Bellander, *Dräkt och uniform*, p.216.

³² Wernstedt, *Kungliga Svea Livgardes Historia*, Bd. IV, 1660–1718, p.312.

³³ Bellander, *Dräkt och uniform*, p.216.

³⁴ Höglund, *The Great Northern War*, p.100.



The cut of the coat in 1706.
(Author's illustration)

still had many similarities to the 'old Carolean uniforms' of the 1690s. The Life Guards would not receive new uniforms until the next shipment, which took place in 1703–1704. Since 1703, these new uniforms were made as follows: a Life Guard coat took about $4\frac{1}{2}$ cubits (*alnar*) of cloth, as well as 26 large and six small buttons: six buttons on the cuffs, six on the pockets, and the rest along the coat's centre front (14 to 16), on the side pleats, and on shoulder straps.³⁵ The Life Guards wore these coats at least until 1707 or even 1709, with new Saxon-made waistcoats, breeches, and cloaks issued in 1707.

The uniform, which had first been issued to the Life Guard Regiment, was in turn used as a pattern for other regiments. For example, when replacing worn-out uniforms in 1705, the Hälsingland Regiment reported that the new uniforms were made according to royal edicts (the 1695–1699 model).³⁶ However, we should keep in mind that there were several royal edicts on changes to uniforms that needed to be taken into account when sewing new coats. In line with these, the coat was to have a collar and smaller (compared to the older basic model) slit cuffs. It is evident that these edicts should have been complied with to a reasonable extent when the new uniforms were made. So, for example, in 1702, the Södermanland Regiment received new uniforms of the 1695–1699 model with two and a half dozen (30) buttons for the coat and six smaller ones for the cuffs, as well as with a collar and much

³⁵ Wernstedt, *Kungliga Svea Livgardes Historia*, Bd. IV, 1660–1718, p.306.

³⁶ Höglund, *The Great Northern War*, p.73.

smaller (in line with the new model) rectangular cuffs, 12.5 cm wide.³⁷ As we can see, the cuffs on the new model are more than twice as narrow as on the prior model (1680). It is possible that the uniforms issued by the Governor of Riga and those made later for the Life Guards had cuffs and collars similar in width to the new model.

The references to the 'basic' model of 1680 in procurement documents should not be taken literally, as in different years what was known as a 'basic' model of the 'old Carolean uniform' had different numbers of buttons, differently shaped pocket flaps, and sometimes even a collar. Therefore, the 1680 model coat, while having a basic cut, gradually underwent slight modifications since as early as the 1690s, and significantly differed from the original basic model by 1705.

As the instructions to introduce the new uniforms across the army could not be fully carried out at once, its adoption by infantry regiments could take a year, and in some cases several years. Meanwhile, regiments continued to wear, patch, and mend their old uniforms while gradually replacing them with new garments. Old items were replaced with new ones almost on a case-by-case basis for each regiment, therefore it is impracticable to trace how it happened throughout the army, considering the loss of many documents. To get an idea of what happened when new uniforms were issued, we can look at some of the regiments for which some information is available. This was the case with the Uppland Regiment whose soldiers, despite the instructions to issue new uniforms, continued wearing their old red uniforms until as late as the end of the 1690s. The uniforms of the regiment's drummers were decorated with yellow and blue braid. In 1700, the Skaraborg Regiment was still wearing its uniforms of 1688, which of course were extremely shabby. The new uniforms (1695–1699 model) were not issued to the Skaraborg Regiment until the autumn of 1701.

In the Älvsborg Regiment (*Älvsborgs regemente*), the situation with uniforms was even worse. The uniforms that they had received in 1687 were the only garments worn by most privates of this regiment until 1709. It is true, however, that the regiment did not take active part in military operations until 1710. Only non-commissioned officers were able to receive the new model uniforms. Cloaks (*kappor*) were added to the regiment's uniforms after 1696.

The situation with the Dalarna Regiment (*Dalregementet*) was also indicative. When this regiment was stationed in Courland in autumn 1701, its soldiers were wearing uniforms of the mid 1690s, which were by then completely worn out. Nevertheless, they continued to wear them for another two and a half years. Old items were replaced and new items purchased piece by piece; for example, it was not until the end of 1701 that cloaks (*kappor*), purchased for the regiment at the outbreak of the war in 1700, were finally delivered to the regiment. At the same time, contracts were signed in the spring of 1702 for the supply of 1,200 leather waistcoats (*skintröjor*) with brass buttons, which were also intended for the Dalarna Regiment. Also in

37 Höglund, *The Great Northern War*, p.68.

1701, shoes and 600 blue coats were ordered, which had to be ready by the late summer. The consumption of materials was as follows: 'making a coat took $4\frac{1}{4}$ cubits of broadcloth, 8 cubits of woollen cloth for lining, and $2\frac{1}{4}$ dozens of brass buttons' ('rock bestämdes $4\frac{1}{4}$ aln. kläde, 8 aln. foderboj, $2\frac{1}{4}$ dussin mässingsknappar'). The lining and collars of the new coats were made of yellow wool. The new uniforms were to be made 'as it is customary in the Guards' ('som vid Gardet är brukligt'), based on the coat of the 1695–1699 model. In this case, which is of particular interest, a direct reference is made to the Guards uniform to be taken as the model, while the number of buttons also matched the 1699–1703 model of the Life Guards' coats. According to Höglund, the collar was added to this regiment's coats as early as 1701.³⁸ The issue of replacing the old and worn-out hats and karpuses with new ones was raised in the same year of 1703. The Dalarna Regiment probably received their new outfit in full around mid 1703. In 1702, an impressive contract was made with Stockholm tailors to make uniforms for the privates of other regiments (*soldate-klädningar*). In addition, a contract was also made for the supply of wool for broadcloth and woollen cloth (*klädet och bojen*) from England. As a result, the shipments were gradually started, according to the documents: 'fabric, which for the most part has already been delivered, and the rest will be gradually delivered' by mid April of the same year, for 6,300 blue coats for soldiers, and 3,971 pairs of blue and 2,329 pairs of yellow breeches – 'as delivered'. ('6 300 blåa soldatrockar samt 3 971 par blåa och 2 329 par gula byxor av samma kläde och boj som dem är levererat').³⁹ It is possible that the Kronoberg Regiment (*Kronobergs regemente*) also received its new collared coats, with $2\frac{1}{2}$ dozen (30) buttons each, with this shipment; if so, these coats already had 12 buttonholes and buttons going down to the waist.⁴⁰ However, contracts with tailors were not enough to manufacture so many new uniforms. It was necessary to quickly buy huge quantities of cloth, or to obtain it in some other way. Indeed, such a way was found, and it was typical for those times. In the spring of 1702, Charles XII sent General M. Stenbock with his cavalry to raid Volyn and collect money, supplies, and cloth. As a result of this six-week raid, M. Stenbock commandeered 60,000 dalers in cash, 30,000 dalers worth of various precious items, a large amount of blue cloth for soldiers' uniforms, as well as shirts, shoes, and stockings.⁴¹ This cloth was used to tailor the needed new uniforms. It is evident that, in such circumstances, uniforms made of this cloth could not be of identical colour, but were of different shades of blue. Yellow wool (*boj*) was supplied, as before, for the lining, collars, and cuffs of these new blue coats, as well as $2\frac{1}{2}$ dozen (30) brass (or pewter) buttons per coat, and yellow thread for buttonholes. The new coats were to be kept separately, without mixing them with the rest. The

38 Höglund, *The Great Northern War*, p.71.

39 Bellander, *Dräkt och uniform*, p.221.

40 Höglund, *The Great Northern War*, p.69.

41 A. Bepalov, 'Razvitiye sistemy komplektovaniya, snabzheniya i ukrepleniya distsipliny v shvedskoy armii v 1547–1721 godakh' ('The development of a system of recruitment, supply and strengthening of discipline in the Swedish army in 1547–1721'), *Norwegian Journal of development of the International Science*, No. 27, 2019, p.12.

surviving patterns (*kläde, boj*, 1701–1702) show the cloth that was used for making the uniforms (AM 15424, Stockholm Army Museum). While regiments more or less managed to change their regulars into the new blue coats, the situation was much more complicated with recruits. New challenges with uniforms for recruits arose in Sweden. Quality cloth was still in short supply, and as a result new recruits had to make do with grey uniforms made from poor quality cloth known as wadmal (*gråa vadmalsrockar*). But at least these were new uniforms, while soldiers in the field had to wear their old shabby uniforms while waiting for the new ones to be supplied for the entire regiment. It was not until the second half of 1703 that some of the new uniforms reached the regiments. Not only ordinary regiments of the army were having problems getting new uniforms, but also the Life Guards, whose new uniforms, as we remember, had been commandeered. By 1703, the uniforms of the Life Guards were so worn out and shabby, that there was no other alternative but to use the red Saxon uniforms captured during the campaigns of 1701 and at the Battle of Kliszów! Consequently, some of the Life Guard infantrymen wore red Saxon uniforms with cuffs of different colours! Note that Saxon uniforms of that period differed considerably in style from the Swedish ones.

Saxon coats of the early 1700s had wide sleeves with wide round cuffs, and with low-set rectangular pocket flaps. Eventually, in the spring of 1703, the Life Guard Regiment of Foot received several hundred cubits of blue cloth and new hats, and new uniforms were finally made for the Guards. It is likely that the new coats were tailored under strict supervision and taking into account all previous royal instructions concerning changes in the cut. It is also likely that from 1703 onwards the coats of the Life Guards were the instantly recognisable Carolean model, with a collar, narrow sleeves, small cuffs, and broadened skirts. Centre front buttons would also probably go only as low as the waistline, although it is possible that they could also be sewn on down to the hem of the skirts. This uniform was probably worn by the Life Guards for at least three years, presumably until 1706–1707. The trophy uniforms captured at Kliszów were also worn by other Swedish units, namely two battalions of the Uppland and Södermanlandöstergötland Third-Man Battalions (*Uppland och Södermanlandöstergötland tremänningsbataljone*), as well as Albedyl's dragoons (*Albedyls dragoner*).

At the end of 1706, Charles XII issued new general instructions on the uniforms for new recruits, summarising the various previous changes in the



A Swedish musketeer in a red coat from a captured Saxon. (Author's illustration)

cut of their coats. More detailed regulations were to be additionally drawn up by regimental commanders. The changes affected, first and foremost, the external appearance of the coats. Now the coat was even more tight-fitting, had even narrower sleeves, and widened by the pleats towards the bottom, like the coats of the officers and NCOs of the Life Guards and the rest of the army. The skirts could end slightly above the knee, or be knee-length. Unlike the previous models, they now slightly overlapped one another at the bottom. Now, even the privates had pleats on their coats, four pleats on each side and two on the back vent. Moreover, three or more false paired sets of buttonholes could be sewn onto the back vent. These buttonholes were of no practical use, but perhaps they were a tribute to the fashion of the day. The major change, obligatory for everyone, was the reduced number of buttons on the coat's centre front: the 12-button row now ended at the level of the waist on all coats, with only two buttons below the waistbelt. Pocket flaps were sewn at the level of the last twelfth button. Once again, after the edict of 1699, the regulations reiterated the requirement to wear a small turn-down collar and small cuffs. While models of the 1690s had both round and slit cuffs of varying width, the new model only had small slit cuffs. The uniform of this type tailored in Saxony is known as the 'Saxon uniform', and we may reasonably assume that its appearance was influenced by the Prussian and Brandenburg fashion trends. Consequently, what is known as the 'younger Carolean uniform' had developed by 1706.⁴²

Taking the cost of materials for the Life Guard Regiment of Foot as an example, we can roughly estimate the cost of materials for a new uniform of the model introduced in 1706. The length of cloth used per coat increased from 4½ cubits to 5½ cubits. The cuffs, lining, and collar were yellow. The large pocket flaps had three buttons each. The number of buttons was significantly reduced, with no more than 11 or 12 on the centre front, three on each pocket, and three small buttons at the bottom of each sleeve.⁴³ Such uniforms can be seen in portraits of Charles XII. The coat of C. Drakenhielm can be considered to be the most representative (and the earliest known to us) example of the new model uniform. Although it still has a narrow standing collar, but the coat already features 12 buttons going down to the waist, as well as the characteristic pentagonal pocket flaps with seven buttons, and small (compared to the prior models) rectangular cuffs of 14 cm in width. It is likely that, by 1707–1708, the new uniforms had been made not only for the Life Guards, but also at least for some other regiments of the army. Scarce surviving sources indicate that the Östergötland Infantry Regiment (*Östergötlands infanterregemente*) received new uniforms in the spring of 1707. Recruits of the Skaraborg Regiment also arrived from Sweden wearing new uniforms. In the late summer of 1708, the Hälsingland Regiment finally received new uniforms before the new campaign.⁴⁴ Sometimes, historical documents shed light on interesting details related to uniform manufacturing. For example, buttonholes could be worked with thread, or bound with welts

⁴² Bellander, p.227.

⁴³ Bellander, p.228.

⁴⁴ Bellander, p.230.

from cloth in the facing colour. This is documented for the Västergötland-Dals Regiment, which received new blue coats in 1708, with yellow lining, collars, and buttonholes made of yellow wool.⁴⁵

In 1709, soldiers of the Kalmar Regiment wore blue coats with pewter buttons. It is possible that those who failed to receive coats probably wore their simplified versions – pajrocks of grey wadmal, with a blue collar and blue cuffs. Pajrocks could also be worn over the coat instead of a cloak. Later, in the 1710s, the cut introduced in 1706 became the principal model, which survived almost unchanged until the end of the war. The classic Carolean uniform can be seen on the soldiers from the engraving showing the Battle of Helsingborg in 1710: narrow sleeves, a collar, small cuffs, and three-buttoned pocket flaps in Carolean style. After the loss of the army in 1709, it took a number of years for the regiments to regain their appearance. For example, an inspection of the Närke-Värmland Regiment in 1712 discovered that their uniforms were in every respect the same as in 1708 (that is, blue coats with red facings).

Uniforms of the Estonian and Livonian Infantry Regiments

The uniforms for the enlisted regiments of Estonia and Livonia were to be supplied by the local authorities. From the very outbreak of the war, the demand for uniforms had increased abruptly, as the number of the troops had also sharply risen. In May 1700, A.J. de la Gardie signed a contract with the shoemaker guild of Reval to supply 1,000 pairs of soldiers' shoes. During the army's stay in the Baltic provinces, the local craftsmen were the principal shoe suppliers not only for the Baltic regiments, but also for the entire army. However, the shoes received under the contract were not enough, and the authorities additionally engaged shoemakers in Pernau (Pärnu) and Dorpat (Tartu). Warm garments (fur coats, woollen stockings, and mittens) were also supplied at the expense of the Swedish Baltic provinces. All this imposed a heavy burden on the provinces. The seizure of the Saxon military stores in Courland by the Swedish troops had temporarily alleviated the challenge.⁴⁶

The field and garrison regiments of Estonia and Livonia mostly wore blue uniforms with pewter buttons and mainly yellow lining, cuffs, and collars. There were two exceptions: the Governor's Regiment in Riga (*Guvenörsregementet i Riga*) and the Garrison Regiment in Narva (*Garnisonsregementet i Narva*) – they had red facings on blue uniforms and red stockings. A watercolour by Johann Christoph Brotze, from a lost original of the early 1700s, depicting the crossing of the Düna River by Charles XII in 1701, shows a musketeer and several officers overseeing the crossing. The musketeer is wearing an unlaced hat and a blue coat without pleats in the skirts with features corresponding to the uniform of the 1690s. The coat has red cuffs. The soldier is also wearing a red neckcloth, possibly a red collar, and red-brown stockings. The watercolour

⁴⁵ Bellander, p.231.

⁴⁶ H. Palli, *Mezhdru dvumya boyami za Narvu: Estonia v perviye gody Severnoy voyny 1701–1704* (Tallinn, 1966), pp.98–99.



A fragment of a watercolour by Johann Christoph Brotze, copying a lost original of the early 1700s, showing the crossing of the Düna River by Charles XII in 1701. (Latvijas Valsts biblioteka. Photo from author's collection)

is quite consistent with the available information about the uniforms of musketeers of the Governor's Regiment in Riga. Next to the musketeer are inhabitants of Riga and officers, probably from the same Governor's Regiment in Riga. The officers are shown in collarless blue coats with wide sleeves, with lace along the seams and the back. They also have red or white stockings. Two of the officers are shown in long blue cloaks with large collars; the cloaks' centre fronts and collars are laced with gold.

Below are some examples of differences in facing colours across regiments. The Estonian Infantry Regiment (*Eständskt infanterieregemente*) wore blue karpuses with yellow lining and trimmed with braid as well as blue coats with yellow lining and 21 pewter buttons. During the early years of the war, the Ingrian Infantry Regiment (*Ingermanländskt infanterieregemente*) wore grey wadmals karpuses, pajrocks, waistcoats, breeches, as well as grey stockings. In 1702–1707, they already wore blue coats with yellow lining, leather waistcoats, and blue or leather breeches. In 1704, M.W. Nieroth's Livonian Infantry Regiment (*Nieroths Livländskt infanterieregemente*) wore hats trimmed with yellow braid, blue coats with yellow lining, leather waistcoats and breeches, and blue or grey stockings. In 1703, B.J. Mellin's Estonian Infantry Regiment wore hats with yellow braid, grey pajrocks, blue coats with yellow lining and pewter buttons, blue breeches, and yellow stockings. In 1706, the regiment wore hats, blue coats with yellow lining and pewter buttons, and blue breeches and stockings. In 1704, the Estonian Infantry Regiment of the Harrian Circle (*Estländskt infanterieregemente af Harriska kretsen*) wore hats, grey coats with blue cuffs, lining, and collars, and with pewter buttons. In 1707, the regiment received new uniforms: hats with braids, blue coats with yellow lining and pewter buttons, as well as blue breeches, and blue stockings. In 1704, the Estonian Infantry Regiment of Jerwian Circle (*Estländskt infanterieregemente af Järwiska kretsen*) wore hats, grey coats with blue cuffs, lining, and collars,

and with pewter buttons. In 1701, the Estonian Infantry Regiment of the Wierian Circle (*Estländskt infanterregemente af Wieriska kretsen*) wore hats, light grey coats with yellow lining, cuffs, possibly with yellow collars, as well as pewter buttons.⁴⁷

For all the efforts to make and deliver uniforms to the Baltic regiments and battalions, it was obvious that there would not be enough new uniforms for everyone. Even the Life Guards had supply problems, so there was no surprise that others experienced them, too. The solution was again found in the use of the coats of captured enemies. In 1701, Charles XII ordered E. Dahlbergh to issue the Livonian infantry battalions (*Livländsk Infanteribataljon*) of H.H. von Liewen and C.A. Stackelberg with the same red coats with large round cuffs captured from the Saxons due to the absence of any other uniforms, although a contract to supply uniforms had been made with the famous Riga merchant firm, Inken & Koenig. It seems that these uniforms had been received by W. Schlippenbach in the last third of September 1701.⁴⁸ Considering that Saxon uniforms were used to plug gaps in so many units, starting with the Life Guards, there must have been very many such trophies.

Uniforms of the Livonian and Estonian Militia Battalions

In 1701, Charles XII decided to form standing militia battalions from peasants of Livonia and Estonia. To speed up the formation of the battalions, E. Dahlbergh, the Governor-General of Livonia, issued a relevant order on 24 April 1701.

The officers were to be noblemen. Soldiers for the militia battalions were to be supplied by local peasants, who would also have to outfit them. Militia units were mainly employed in garrison service, but they were also used to counteract the scouts and marauders of the enemy army. In some cases, militia soldiers were transferred to enlisted regiments. They were armed with swords and muskets of different patterns, as well as with old matchlock muskets (in the Alüksne and Wolmar (Valmiera) battalions). Standard accoutrements of the infantrymen were of the Swedish type, probably including outdated items from armouries or items revamped from elements of different models and patterns. According to the surviving inventory records, militia battalions only had drummers as musicians. For the first time, accoutrements and uniforms of the land militia battalions were analysed in detail in the late 1930s.⁴⁹ At first, when the battalions were being formed, all soldiers were dressed in peasant clothes; uniforms were not issued to them until April 1702, and these included hats or karpuses with yellow flaps, grey Swedish-style coats with yellow lining and cuffs, neckcloths, gloves, cloth breeches, stockings, and shoes.⁵⁰

47 Kroon, *Kolme Lõvi Ja Greifi All Põhjasõjas*, pp.392–393.

48 Palli, *Mezhdu dvumya boyami za Narvu*, p.99.

49 G. Kempelis, 'Latviešu veco strēlnieku vēsturisko dokumentu un atmiņu krājums', *Latviešu strēlnieki*, Latviešu veco strēlnieku biedriba 4.-5, Riga 1936, pp.289–316.

50 Kempelis, 'Latviešu veco strēlnieku vēsturisko dokumentu un atmiņu krājums', pp.298–299.



A fragment from an engraving of 1697 by Erik Vennberg, *Slottet Tre Kronor*. Musketeers with an NCO in the front of the line.

According to various sources, there were five or six such battalions:⁵¹

1. The Livonian Land Militia Battalion of the Treyden Circle (*Livländsk Landtmilisbataljon af Treydenska kretsen*); soldiers of this battalion wore grey coats with brass buttons, yellow lining and cuffs, and yellow stockings.
2. The Livonian Militia Battalion of the Wenden Circle (*Livländsk Landtmilisbataljon af Wendiska kretsen*); starting from 1702, the battalion wore, in accordance with the King's edict, grey karpuses with yellow flaps and peaks, white neckcloths, and grey coats with yellow collars, cuffs, and lining. Buttonholes of corporals and NCOs were edged in yellow.
3. The Livonian Militia Battalion of the Kokenhusen Circle (*Livländsk Landtmilisbataljon af Kokenhusiska kretsen*) wore grey karpuses with yellow flaps and peaks, white neckcloths, and grey coats with yellow collars, cuffs, and lining.
4. The Livonian Militia Battalion of the Marienburg Circle (*Livländsk Landtmilisbataljon af Marienburgska kretsen*) wore grey karpuses with yellow flaps and peaks, yellow neckcloths, grey coats with yellow collars, cuffs, and lining, and grey stockings.
5. The Livonian Militia Battalion of the Wolmar Circle (*Livländsk Landtmilisbataljon af Wolmarska kretsen*) wore grey karpuses with yellow flaps and peaks, white neckcloths, grey coats with yellow collars, cuffs, and lining, and grey stockings.

⁵¹ Arnis Kohs Jūmītis, *Zem Kārļa XII ka rogiem Latviešu karavīri 18. gadsimta Zviedrijas armijā* (Rīga: Zvaigzne ABC, 2016), pp.96–108.

6. The Livonian Militia Battalion of the Tirsén Circle (*Livlandsk Landtmilisbataljon af Tirsenska kretsen*): the uniforms are unknown, probably they were of the same type as in other battalions.

In addition to the above battalions, Livonian landlords and gentry fielded another unit, a volunteer militia battalion (*Yxkyll (Uxskull, Uexküll) bataljon*) to counteract enemy marauders and scouts. They were dressed like other local infantrymen in the Swedish style, but there is no exact data about their uniforms. Probably, some of them wore something resembling uniforms, while others wore common peasant clothing, in various combinations with elements of the Swedish uniforms and accoutrements.

If there were not enough coats for all officers of a battalion, they were replaced with peasant coats. We can get some idea about the appearance of these battalions from eighteenth-century engravings by G. Welte.⁵² Peasant coats of the early 1700s differed from those of the late eighteenth century, as depicted in multiple drawings by Johann Christoph Brotze.

Adornments on the Coats of Infantry NCOs

This section discusses the uniforms and accoutrements of infantry NCOs. Infantry NCOs had blue coats with blue lining, with large and small brass, soldered and silvered, or pewter buttons. Coats of NCOs had two dozen (24) buttons and were made from finer and better fabric than coats of privates. Their buttonholes could be of light blue cloth, edged in lace or silver thread. In line with the royal edict, NCOs were the first to receive new coats with collars and other modifications. It is likely that the horizontal flaps on coats of NCOs had from five to seven buttons. Despite the overall instructions on how NCO coats were to look like (blue with blue lining and cuffs), there were minor differences in every regiment across the army; following is a list of these differences for the allotted regiments that we are aware of. At the beginning of the war, NCOs of the Skaraborg Regiment wore blue coats with blue lining, silvered buttons, and silvered lace along the flaps and cuffs. In 1712–1714, lace was gone from the coats, while the buttons were changed to pewter; in 1719, the collar and cuffs were laced with lace of body colour. During the early years of the war, NCOs of the Uppland Regiment wore coats with silvered buttons and with no lace. In 1716–1718, collars, pocket flaps, and cuffs started to be laced with silver. In 1702, the Södermanland Regiment wore coats with simple pewter buttons; in 1718, the coat lining was replaced from blue to body colour. The Kronoberg Regiment wore coats with blue lining and simple pewter buttons. The Jönköping Regiment wore blue coats with blue lining and pewter buttons. At the outbreak of the war, the Björneborg Regiment (*Björneborgs regemente*) also wore coats (but with silvered buttons from 1716). In 1707–1710, the Östgöta Regiment (*Östgöta regemente*) wore blue coats with blue lining and pewter buttons, with the lining colour changed to buff in 1716. At the start of

⁵² *Po sledam sobytiy severnoy voyny* (Tallinn, 1960), pp.17, 60.

the war, NCOs of the Dalarna Regiment had buttonholes embroidered in silver. In 1700–1709, the Elfsborg Regiment (*Elfsborgs regemente*) had collars, cuffs, and pocket flaps laced with silver. In 1700, the Närke-Värmland Regiment (*Närke-Värmlands regemente*) wore blue coats with blue cuffs, but with red lining, and from 1717, with buttonholes worked with silver. The Västerbotten Regiment wore blue coats with pewter buttons, and white cuffs and lining. Other regiments wore the standard blue coats with blue lining and blue cuffs. The coats of NCOs in enlisted regiments were more richly decorated. Here are some examples: In 1702, NCOs of the Queen Dowager's Life Guard Regiment in Pomerania (*Riksänkedrottningens Livregemente i Pommern*) wore blue coats with silvered buttons, and collars and pocket flaps laced with silver. In the King's Swedish Life Guard Regiment of Foot (*Kunglig Majestäts Svenska Livregemente till fot*), buttonholes were worked with silver, while in the King's German Life Guard Regiment of Foot (*Kunglig Majestäts Tyska Livregemente till fot*), NCOs wore blue coats with yellow cuffs and lining, and yellow cord on the shoulder. The Queen's Life Regiment of Foot: blue coats with silvered buttons, and silver lace on cuffs and pocket flaps. The Pomeranian Infantry Regiment: blue coats with silvered buttons, with centre front and cuff buttonholes trimmed with silver lace; red cloth lining and cuffs. The Garrison Regiment in Stralsund: buttonholes lined with camlet yarn. In 1699, NCOs of the Governor's Regiment in Wismar (*Guvernörsregementet i Wismar*) had blue coats with silvered buttons, silver lace on the collar and pocket flaps, and buttonholes worked in silver. In 1703, NCOs of the Garrison Regiment in Wismar (*Garnisonsregementet i Wismar*) had blue coats with red lining and red cuffs, silvered buttons, and silver lace on the collar and pocket flaps. In 1702, NCOs of the Bremen Infantry Regiment (*Bremiska infanterregementet*) wore blue coats with gilded buttons, and collars and cuffs laced with gold. In 1704–1710, the Garrison Regiment in Stade (*Garnisonsregemente i Stade*) wore blue coats with dark-red lining and cuffs, with pewter buttons, and with silver lace on cuffs and buttonholes. The uniforms of NCOs in other regiments were tailored in the sober style of their counterparts in the allotted regiments.

NCOs could also wear a variation of the coat-frock (*surtout*) of blue cloth with blue lining. But it hard to say what it looked like and how it differed from the standard coat.

Apart from the standard daily service coat, some NCOs also had a full dress coat. For instance, sergeant majors (*fältväbel*) and provost marshals wore coats laced with silver, with a large crown and royal cipher of silver lace sewn onto the coat's front and back.⁵³ This was, for example, the case in the Närke-Värmland Regiment, Södermanland Regiment, and Dalarna Regiment.

53 Höglund, *The Great Northern War*, p.78.



A pikeman of the Närke-Värmland Regiment (*Närke-Värmlands regemente*) or the Jönköping Regiment (*Jönköpings regemente*), 1700–1709. He is wearing a coat in regimental colours, and a red neckcloth. According to the scarce data available, coats of privates in these regiments had no collars in 1700–1706. In other respects, the new coats issued in 1704 were probably compliant with regulations, with centre front buttons not reaching the skirts' hem.

A cloak lined red is worn over the coat and fastened with trefoil-shaped clasps beneath a round collar. Two smaller clasps are shown lower on the cloak's centre front. The waistcoat and breeches are leather. The stockings in these regiments, unlike the others, were also red. The pikeman is armed with a pike and a sword.

Right: A Swedish army musketeer in a uniform dating from the late 1690s. A similar type of coat was worn by the Life Guard Regiment of Foot and other units during the first period of the Great Northern War. A black hat with white woollen lace, the brim is rolled up, but quite loose around the crown. The waistcoat, with its horizontal pocket flaps and much smaller cuffs, differs from the models of the 1680s. The collar is shown as a narrow standing collar, but, as we know, this type of coat already had a narrow turn-down collar starting from the mid 1690s. This man is armed with a musket, sword and bayonet in a scabbard, on a buckskin waistbelt, and a cartridge pouch on a shoulder belt slung over his left shoulder.

Facing page: An officer of an infantry regiment, early 1700s, wearing a blue coat lined blue. The coat's cut was in fashion early in the war, and can be found in later depictions of artillery officers: no collar, wide sleeves, expanding towards the cuffs; large and wide cuffs, rectangular pocket flaps. The coat's laced buttonholes are set in pairs along the coat's centre front as was the fashion in the 1600s. The same pattern is seen in the buttonhole arrangement on the coat of Abraham Melander, an officer of the Södermanland Regiment (*Södermanlands regemente*), and in the portrait of an unknown officer from the collection of the Uppsala University. The waistcoat is leather; the breeches and stockings are blue. The officer is armed with a sword on a plain buckskin waistbelt, although with a gilded buckle. He is holding an officer's half-pike.





A captain of the King's Life Guard Regiment of Foot (*Kunglig Majestäts Livgardet till fot*), 1700s. This uniform with minor variations existed at least between 1700 and 1709. The brim of the officer's hat is laced with gold. The coat is tailored in line with royal orders, with a collar and small slit cuffs, with buttons reaching to the waist, but still without inserts in the skirts' side vents. All seams, buttonholes, and edges of the collar, cuffs, pocket flaps as well as sides of the coat's centre front are laced with gold. The officer is wearing a blue broadcloth waistcoat, which could also be laced with gold (shown with no laces in this version). Blue breeches, also from broadcloth. The officer is armed with a half-pike and a sword worn on a simple buckskin waistbelt with a gilded buckle.





A musketeer of the Livonian Infantry Regiment (*Livländskt infanteriregemente*), 1703. The musketeer is wearing a blue karpus with yellow flaps, and a new blue coat with pewter buttons, with a yellow collar, small cuffs, and lining, with 12 buttons reaching down to the pocket flaps. It is possible that this uniform came from the consignment that had been intended for the King's Life Guard Regiment of Foot (*Kunglig Majestäts livgardet till fot*), but was commandeered by the Governor of Riga. A leather waistcoat and breeches, blue stockings. Standard infantry weapons.

A musketeer of the Västerbotten Regiment (*Västerbottensregemente*). A distinctive feature of this unit's uniforms was white lining. The karpus is also blue-and-white, with its front turn-up flap (as well as the sword knot) edged in blue-and-white cord.



A musketeer of the Estonian Infantry Regiment of the Jerwian Circle (*Estländskt infantergemente af Järwiska kretsen*), 1704. He is wearing a hat, a grey coat with blue cuffs, lining, a collar, and pewter buttons.



A musketeer of the Livonian Militia Battalion of the Treyden Circle (*Livländsk Landtmilisbataljon af Treydenska kretsen*). Soldiers of this battalion wore grey coats with brass buttons, yellow lining and cuffs, and yellow stockings.



Below: sergeant of the Garrison Regiment in Riga (*Garnisonsregementet i Riga*). He wears a hat laced with silver and a blue coat with a collar. The buttonholes on the coat's edges and on the pocket flaps are lined with silver. The waistcoat and stockings are blue.



Right: A sergeant of the Elfsborg Regiment (*Elfsborgs regemente*), 1700–1709. A hat laced with silver, a black neckcloth. A blue coat with blue lining and pewter buttons. The collar, cuffs, pocket flaps, and buttonholes are laced with silver. A leather waistcoat and breeches, blue stockings. The sergeant is armed with a sword that has a silvered hilt. A plain buckskin waistbelt, but with a silvered buckle. He is holding a type of halberd (*korsgevär*) in his hand.





A drummer of the Jönköping Regiment (*Jönköpingsregemente*), 1710s. The musician is wearing a blue coat with a collar, cuffs, and lining of the regimental facing colour (red). The coat's collar, cuffs, and sleeves are lined with braid or lace. The drum is painted with a 'flame' pattern (triangles pointing alternately upwards and downwards) and the coat of arms of Jönköping (based on a surviving drum from the collection of the Hallands Konstmuseum).

Uniforms of Musicians (Drummers and Fifers – *trumslagare och pipare*)

In each regiment, drummers and fifers wore coats decorated according to the regiment, with seams and sleeves trimmed with multicoloured cord, lace, or woollen braid. Sometimes, the coats were of colours opposite to the regimental ones: that is, with the coat of the facing colour, and blue lining. The uniforms of musicians in the Life Guard of Foot were the most lavishly decorated ones. They wore blue coats with gilded buttons, and yellow cuffs and lining. New uniforms were issued with collars already attached to the coats, and were trimmed with golden braid, silver, and silk. Their pajrocks were of blue cloth, with pewter buttons, trimmed with yellow and blue braid. Drums were carried on leather slings, which could also be trimmed with braid or lace. The drums themselves were painted in 'flames' (alternating triangles), and with royal ciphers and crowns, or regimental coats of arms. Life company drums were painted with the greater Swedish coat of arms, and the regimental coat of arms in the corner (similar to company colours). As a rule, uniforms of drummers (and musicians in general) were decorated. Centre fronts, seams, sleeves, cuffs, and pocket flaps were trimmed with braid or lace. Adornments on drummers' coats before the start of the Great Northern War can be seen on a map vignette of 1696 showing the Nyland Regiment.⁵⁴ The vignette shows old blue uniforms with fake sleeves, in fashion in the seventeenth century, entirely embroidered with braid or lace, with buttons down to the hem, but already with horizontal flap pockets. Interestingly enough, the white neckcloths of all musicians are tied with a red ribbon in a bow. Starting from the early 1700s, this decorative element was no longer used in the infantry, but remained for a while in the artillery. Musicians of the King's Swedish Life Guard Regiment of Foot had the most lavishly decorated uniforms. Regimental drummers, fifers, and shawm players (*regementstrumslagaren och skallmej-blåsarna*) wore blue coats with pewter buttons, and yellow lining, collars, cuffs, and buttonholes. Their entire uniform was decorated with lace (gold and silver with silk) along the sleeves, collar, centre front, cuffs, and seams.⁵⁵ They also had blue pajrocks with pewter buttons, and yellow lining, cuffs, collars, also trimmed with lace like coats. As for enlisted regiments, coat decorations varied by regiment. Below are some examples. In the early 1700s, drummers and fifers of the Queen Dowager's Life Guard Regiment in Pomerania wore light grey coats with blue lining and cuffs, trimmed with blue and white braid along the centre front and pocket flaps. The King's German Life Guard Regiment of Foot: blue coats with pewter buttons, blue cuffs and lining decorated with white braid. The Queen's Life Regiment of Foot: blue coats with blue cuffs and lining, gilded buttons, buttonholes trimmed with gold and blue thread, with the breast sides, pocket flaps, and cuffs trimmed with gold and blue braid. The Pomeranian Infantry Regiment: blue coats with pewter buttons,

54 M. Klinge, Lars Ericson, *Suurvallan mahti: Kuvia Ruotsin linnoituksista 1654–1719* (Espoo: Schildt, 2003), p.84.

55 Wernstedt, *Kungliga Svea Livgardes Historia*, Bd. IV. 1660–1718, p.308.



A drummer of the King's Life Guard Regiment of Foot (*Kunglig Majestäts Livgardet till fot*). 1700s. The drummer is wearing a hat trimmed with white lace, and a white neckcloth about his neck. The coat is the 1699 model, with a collar, gilded buttons, and yellow cuffs and lining. The new uniforms featured collars edged in lace with gold, silver, and silk threads. The drum is worn on a laced shoulder belt and is painted with golden crowns against the blue background. A large royal cipher of Charles XII under a crown is painted in the middle of the drum. A copy of such a drum is held in the St Petersburg Artillery Museum (Military Historical Museum of Artillery, Engineers and Signal Corps), inventory No. 16/369. The drummer is armed with an infantry sword.

red lining and cuffs, pocket flaps and buttonholes trimmed with red-and-white braid. The Garrison Regiment in Stralsund: blue coats with pewter buttons, orange cuffs and lining, buttonholes worked with white thread. Coats were also decorated with twisted orange cord.

Coats of musicians in the allotted regiments were decorated as follows: for instance, in 1700, the musicians of the Närke-Värmland Regiment, Östergötland Infantry Regiment, the Skaraborg Regiment, and the Dalarna Regiment wore blue coats with brass buttons, yellow cuffs and lining, and trimmed with yellow braid. In 1718 they had blue pajrocks with yellow lining, and yellow coats with silvered buttons, blue lining, and silver lace around the collar, pocket flaps, and cuffs. The Uppland Regiment in 1701–1702: plain blue coats with yellow lining and cuffs. The Västerbotten Regiment: blue coats laced with braid; Jönköping Regiment: blue coats lined with braid, presumably white or white and red. It is likely that not all regiments had decorated uniforms, and that second-man, third-man, and fourth-man regiments were dressed more modestly. It is possible that exactly such a modification can be seen in the engraving from the early 1700s, which clearly shows musicians of one of the Swedish regiments.⁵⁶ The drummers and fifer are shown in uniforms without any adornments such as braid or lace. Braid is only shown on their hats.

Before and during the Great Northern War, the Swedish infantry used several models of uniforms: the first, 'older', model – without a collar, or later with a collar, which was made during the 1680s until about 1692; and several 'transitional' models, worn between 1694 and 1706, with a collar, smaller cuffs, differently shaped flap pockets (narrow horizontal and rectangular flaps, or pentagonal flaps, with a varying number of buttons on them), in some cases, with buttonholes and buttons reaching down to the waist; and, finally, the 'younger' model, introduced in 1706, which was worn approximately between 1707 and 1710: coats with buttons and buttonholes down to the waist, with a collar, small cuffs and horizontal pocket flaps of varying shape, with three, five, or seven buttons. Uniforms issued to the Baltic units in 1707–1709 were probably already of the 'younger' model of 1706. For example, *de la Gardie's Estonian Infantry Regiment* (*de la Gardies Eständskt infanterieregemente*) is described in

56 Alf Åberg, *Fångars elände Karolinerna i Ryssland 1700–1723* (Stockholm: Natur och Kultur, 1991), p.82.



Drummers of an infantry regiment. (Author's collection)

about 1707 as having 21 pewter buttons on their coats, which were probably of the 'younger' model.⁵⁷

The disaster of 1709 disrupted both the supply and manufacturing of uniforms; at first, the new regiments could only be dressed in grey uniforms and pajrocks of wadmal – a very rough, undyed type of cloth (*grå vadmal*), but this cloth was considered to be of poor quality. Wadmal uniforms were issued to the restored Uppland Regiment, Jönköping Regiment, and Dalarna Regiment. It was, however, decided to provide other regiments with blue uniforms. In the spring of 1712, Charles XII wrote from Bender about the third-man (*tremanning*) regiments: their uniforms would be cheaper if made of wadmal, but it was considered better if they were made of blue cloth.⁵⁸

Waistcoats of Privates, NCOs and Officers

What we call a 'waistcoat' could be called several things in Swedish documents: *camisol*, *väst*, *skintröja*, though this was one and the same type of clothing,

⁵⁷ Höglund, *The Great Northern War*, p.13.

⁵⁸ Bellander, *Dräkt och uniform*, p.232.



Variations of waistcoat cuts and proportions; a variation in the placement of pocket flaps.

although the material used differed slightly according to the type of cloth or leather used. Waistcoats of privates and NCOs were made of leather or, more rarely, of broadcloth, single-breasted, with sleeves, but it is possible that sleeveless waistcoats were also in use. The collar was usually a narrow standing collar, but there were also waistcoats with a small turn-down collar. The waistcoat had linen lining and was buttoned with buttons made of pewter or soldered brass, with 18 buttons in most cases, according to the documents. The waistcoat was as long as mid-thigh, but in the mid 1710s it could be shorter, as shown in some drawings. Apparently, its front skirts did not overlap each another. Buttonholes on the centre front and on pocket flaps were made in the same way as on coats: bound or worked with thread; for NCOs, they could be edged in lace. Buttons on leather and broadcloth waistcoats were not sewn to the cloth, but a hole was punched through the fabric, with the button's ear pushed through the hole, and a leather cord used to fasten the button on the inside. Buttons could also be placed on sleeves. The surviving iconographic documents show waistcoats with flap pockets, which could be buttoned with three or four buttons. The flaps could be rectangular, of a fancy shape with a triangular bottom edge, or of an even more sophisticated shape. No soldier waistcoats dating from the Great Northern War have survived, but a surviving waistcoat from the Army Museum in Stockholm dating from a somewhat later period, around the 1730s/early 1740s (AM.022991) might give some idea of their appearance, design, and manufacturing process. It belonged to Captain Anders Rålamb, who participated in the military campaigns of Charles XII. It should be noted however, later research now suggests this waistcoat was not worn by Captain Rålamb, but by a private in the Swedish Noble cavalry regiment (*Adelsfaneregementet*)

Although belonging to an officer, this waistcoat is made of yellow buckskin and consists of a patchwork of small leather pieces rather than larger single pieces. The waistcoat has 13 flat pewter buttons along the centre front (with their ears pushed through holes punched in the leather and fastened on



The waistcoat of Captain Anders Rålamb. (AM.022991, Stockholm Army Museum)





A portrait of Rehnskiöld in the uniform of an officer of the Life Guard Regiment of Foot, by Dutch painter Jaen Starbus (1679–1724).

the inside with cord), two buttons on sleeve cuffs, and three buttons on each fancy-shaped pocket flap. The slit buttonholes are worked with silk thread. In the middle, along the fronts and backs, the waistcoat is lined with undyed canvas, with no lining in the sleeves. Considering the certain conservatism in military fashion and the short period of time separating this waistcoat from the period in question, it would be quite reasonable to assume that leather waistcoats of Charles XII's soldiers and officers were of a similar design and made in a similar way.

It is not clear whether all regiments had received new waistcoats by the start of the war, or whether all regiments had them at all. Taking the Dalarna Regiment as an example, we may assume that either they had no waistcoats at the outbreak of the war, or they did not have enough waistcoats, or their waistcoats were completely worn out. According to a contract signed by the Dalarna Regiment, 1,200 leather waistcoats (*skintröjor*) with brass buttons were made for the regiment in the spring of

1702, that is, for the entire regiment. It is interesting, that during the first years of the war, the waistcoats of the regiment's corporals were somewhat longer than those of privates. NCOs used both buckskin or suede waistcoats, and in some cases waistcoats were made of light-yellow cloth to imitate buckskin. For instance, such waistcoats were worn by the Östergötland Regiment (1707); the Älvsborg Regiment (*Älvsborgs regemente*) wore yellow suede waistcoats in 1717; two companies of the Skaraborg Regiment wore blue cloth waistcoats and breeches in 1720.⁵⁹ Making a waistcoat for the Kronoberg Regiment in 1714 took three cubits of yellow cloth (*3 aln gult kläde*), six cubits of undyed grey linen for the lining, and 18 pewter buttons (source: *Krigskollegii brev* (3357)). For the Västergötland Fifth Man Regiment (*Västgöta femmänningsregemente*) in 1712: 2½ cubits of yellow cloth (*2½ aln gult kläde*) and 18 pewter buttons. Letter 4931 of the Swedish War Office (*Krigskollegii brev* (4931)): 2½ cubits of blue *kommisk* cloth (*2½ aln blått kommiskläde*) and 18 pewter buttons (*Generalmonsterrulla för Stralsundska regementet* 1724).⁶⁰

The waistcoat could be made using mixed techniques, such as combining wool and leather, for example the Västergötland-Dals Regiment was issued goatskin waistcoats (*tröjor*) with yellow woollen buttonholes, and brass

⁵⁹ Bellander, *Dräkt och uniform*, p.270.

⁶⁰ Anders Larsson, <<https://www.tailorandarms.com/2017/09/04/materialatgang-for-vast-kontra-camisol/>>, accessed 27 December 2021



Glove from the collection of the Stockholm Army Museum (AM.032362).



buttons (although some had pewter buttons).⁶¹ Judging from the text of the above letter, the buttonholes were probably bound. Goatskin is quite thin and soft, so in order to reinforce the buttonholes and prevent them from stretching, they were worked with yellow wool.

Gloves

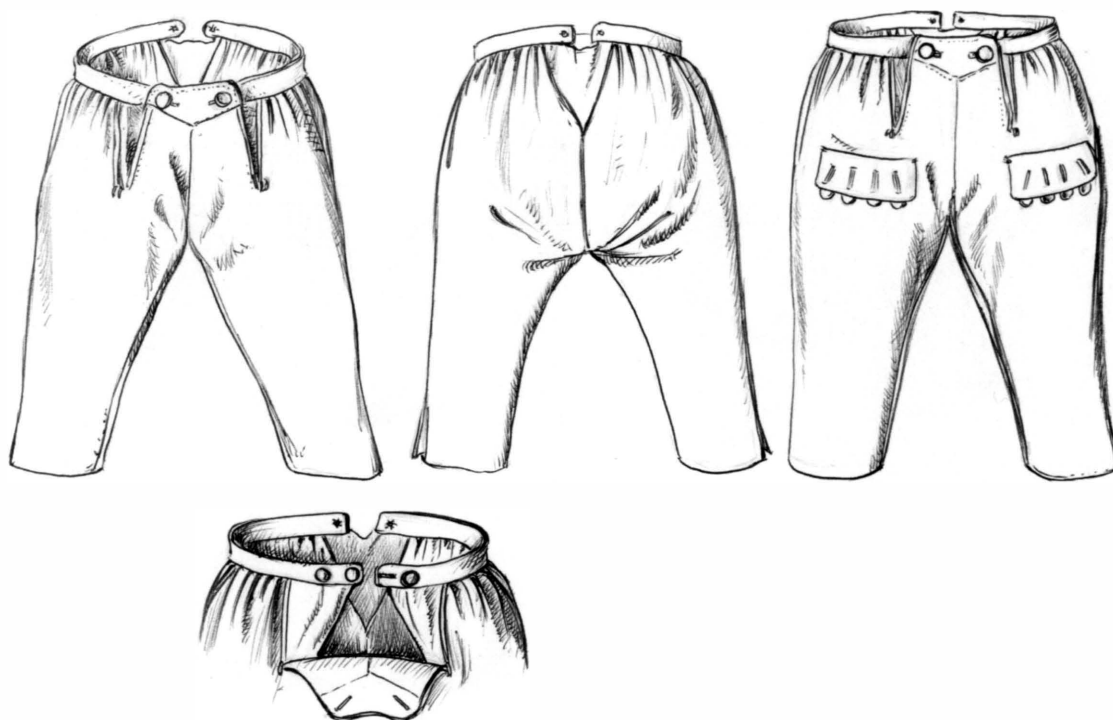
Officers, NCOs, and privates wore leather gloves, which could be trimmed with lace for officers and NCOs. Several examples of gloves from this period have survived in the collection of the Stockholm Army Museum. Although gloves were generally of the same design, they differed in the size and shape of the cuffs. In some cases, cuffs are of triangular shape (item AM.032362), while in other cases they are rounded (item AM.022998). Gloves could be made from a single piece of leather, as in the photo, or with sewn-on cuffs. Gloves were sewn primarily from yellowish buckskin; for example, in 1708 the Västergötland-Dals Regiment was issued buckskin gloves for corporals.⁶²

⁶¹ Bellander, *Dräkt och uniform*, p.231.

⁶² Bellander, *Dräkt och uniform*, p.231.

Leather breeches that belonged to Captain Anders Rålamb. See page pp.92–93 for a discussion of these garments. (AM.022993, Stockholm Army Museum)





Breeches

Breeches (*byxor*) existed in two versions: with a fall-front or with a fly, and could be made of leather or cloth. According to a royal edict, soldiers' breeches were to be made of quality goatskin or buckskin.⁶³ But documents mention both leather breeches⁶⁴ and breeches made of yellow or blue cloth: '3,971 pairs of blue and 2,329 pairs of yellow breeches of the same cloth or wool, as delivered (3 971 *par blåa* och 2 329 *par gula byxor av samma kläde och boj som dem är levererat*)'⁶⁵ while in 1707 NCOs of the Östergötland Regiment wore breeches of buff cloth.⁶⁶ No soldier breeches dating from the time of the Great Northern War have survived, but a pair of breeches from a later period (c. 1730s/early 1740s) from the Stockholm Army Museum may give us some idea of how they looked and how they were made. These breeches (AM.022993) belonged to Captain Anders Rålamb, who participated in the campaigns of Charles XII. They are made of yellow leather (goatskin or buckskin), with three pewter buttons, tied with a drawstring at the back. One button was fastened at the waist and two were used to fasten a fall-front. Rålamb's breeches were not made of a single piece of leather, but rather assembled from several pieces. Leather breeches for privates were probably

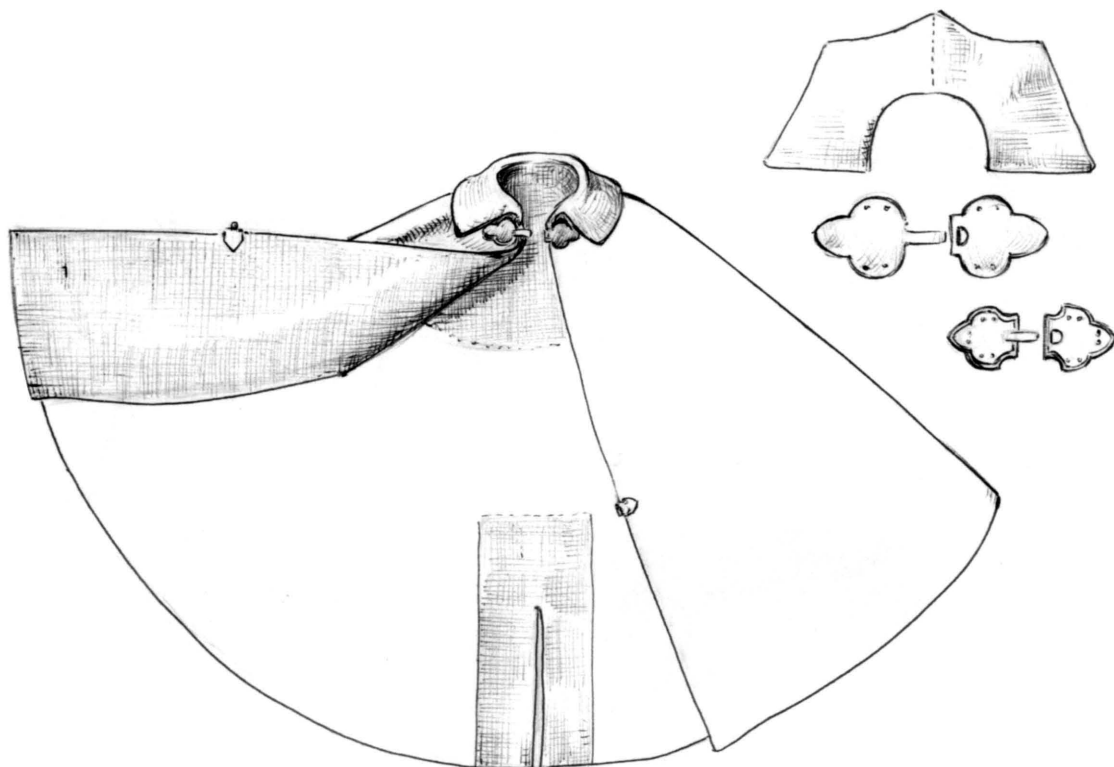
Variations in the cut of breeches, and placement of pockets. (Author's illustration)

⁶³ Bellander, *Dräkt och uniform*, p.

⁶⁴ *Historiska Handlingar*, pp.158–159.

⁶⁵ Bellander, *Dräkt och uniform*, p.221.

⁶⁶ Bellander, *Dräkt och uniform*, p.270.



A cloak of a private infantryman. (Author's illustration)

designed and made in a similar way. Soldiers' breeches also had three buttons: probably two on the fall-front and one at the waistband. Breeches were slightly below knee length. Buttonholes on buckskin or goatskin breeches could be bound or worked with thread. Buttons on leather breeches were not sewn on, but a hole was punched, through which the eye of the button was pushed and fastened with a leather cord on the inside. Sometimes soldiers' breeches could have pockets; there could be several pockets, including pockets on the front side, with pocket flaps.⁶⁷ For instance, one pair of the surviving breeches of Charles XI (*Lrk. inv. nr. 3347*) has four buttons on the fly, one at the waist, and three pockets: one on the front of the waistband and two at the sides.

Stockings (*strumpor*) were woollen, knitted or sewn from cloth in the facing colour (less often leather). NCOs had blue stockings. In two regiments, the Jönköping Regiment and the Närke-Värmland Regiment, stockings were red; in one regiment, the Västerbotten Regiment, they were white (as well as in the Österbotten Regiment (*Österbottens regemente*) in 1718). Musicians of some regiments also wore red stockings, for example in the Skaraborg Regiment, Nyland Regiment, Garrison Regiment in Stade, and the Garrison Regiment in Wismar. Other regiments mostly wore yellow stockings, but there were also exceptions to this. For example,

⁶⁷ Jakobsson, *Artilleriet under Karl XII:s-tiden*, p.275.

THE UNIFORM OF ALLOTTED AND ENLISTED INFANTRY REGIMENTS OF CHARLES XII



Above: Front and rear views of clasps for soldier cloaks, large and small. (Items in author's collection; author's photos)

Below: A fragment from an engraving of 1697 by Erik Vennberg, *Slottet Tre Kronor*. The length of cloaks can be seen on the passing musketeers. Four musicians are marching in front of the formation.



according to the cloth invoice of the Södermanland Regiment issued at the general muster on 26 June 1702, the regiment was issued 1,240 pairs of white knitted stockings, 36 pairs of blue knitted stockings for drummers, and 68 pairs of blue knitted stockings for non-commissioned officers and oboists.⁶⁸ Stockings were drawn up over the knees and covered the lower edge of the breeches, and tied with straps fastened with brass buckles. In colder times, a second pair of ankle-length stockings, which had no bottom and were tied with a drawstring, were put on top of the first pair. Stockings were made of different materials: knitted from wool, sewn from cloth or, like in the Åbo County Regiment, made from linen.⁶⁹ Officers wore the same stockings as their subordinates, but could also afford silk ones.

Cloaks

In 1688, the Life Guards abandoned the cassock (*casaque*) for another type of cloak – the *kappa*. The cloak of infantry privates during the period in question was made of cloth, cut in a semi-circular shape and was about knee-length or slightly below. It was sewn of blue cloth faced with cloth in the facing colour – according to the colour of the lining, with a collar, which was also of the facing colour. The cloak was not fully lined: only on the inside of the centre front, from collar to hem, as well as shoulders and on the back vent. The collar could be rounded and small, or with angles, as can be seen on a surviving example – an officer's cloak belonging to Charles XII. The cloak was held on the neck by a pair of clasps made of brass or other metals, which were shaped as a trefoil or a drop. One of the clasps had a hook, which was cast together with the clasp or riveted to it. The clasps had holes, through which they were fastened to the cloak, or were fastened on the inside of the cloak through 'ears' that were cast together with the clasp. Two smaller clasps sewn on the centre front approximately in the middle of the cloak, fixed the centre front edges together and prevented them from coming apart, thereby covering the whole body. Also, these smaller clasps could be used to fasten the cloak's skirts behind the back to make it easier to move around,⁷⁰ as illustrated in a fragment of a painting by Johan Filip Lemke (1631–1711) showing soldiers marching in the vicinity of Stockholm. The clasps of NCOs' cloaks could be silvered. Examples of such large and small clasps are known from chance finds in the Poltava Region. We know that similar clasps with the same functionality were used on Swedish soldier cloaks from later periods.

By the mid 1690s many regiments had cloaks. For example, according to the General Royal Muster (*Kongl. Generalmönstringen*) of 1694, the Västergötland-Dals Regiment wore blue cloaks with two pairs of clasps, yellow lining on the centre front, sides, shoulders, and collar.⁷¹ In 1698, the

68 Höglund, *The Uniforms of The Swedish Army*, p.59.

69 Höglund, *The Great Northern War*, p.67.

70 Bellander, *Dräkt och uniform*, p.201.

71 Bellander, *Dräkt och uniform*, p.231.



A pikeman wearing a grey pajrock over his coat.

Although the shoes (*skor*) shown above are of a later period, the shoes of the early eighteenth century would have been of a similar pattern. (AM.015472, Stockholm Army Museum)



Närke-Värmland Regiment had cloaks with a red collar and lining, as did the Jönköping Regiment.

The length of cloaks and their shape can be also seen in some engravings. For instance, an engraving of 1697 by Erik Vennberg, *Slottet Tre Kronor*, shows a ceremonial passage of an infantry company. The musketeers and pikemen are shown wearing cloaks of a just below knee length. An engraving depicting Swedish infantry at Janiszki⁷² also shows that cloaks could be shorter, about knee-length with a small round collar. NCOs wore cloaks made entirely of blue cloth, with blue lining, also fastened with two pairs of silvered or brass clasps. Cloaks of NCOs of the King's Swedish Life Guard Regiment of Foot were trimmed with silver thread and lace around the collar, centre front edges, while the back vents were also laced. Collars on the Life Guards' cloaks were trimmed with yellow silk and gold braid.

Footwear

Leather shoes (*skor*) with brass buckles hobnailed with wooden pegs were the principal type of footwear worn by both soldiers and officers. Such shoes can be found in the collection of the Stockholm Army Museum (AM.015472). Interestingly, buckles could be paid for by the soldiers themselves, not by the government, although it is hard to tell whether it was a widespread practice. For example, a document related to the Västergötland-Dals Regiment underlines that new shoes with brass buckles were issued to this regiment in 1708, and that the buckles were paid for by the soldiers themselves.⁷³

In addition to shoes, officers could also wear high boots of the type found in the collection of the Stockholm Army Museum (AM.031282)

72 A. Mickevičius, *Joniškio Magistratas Ir Municipalinė Karjera XVIII A. I Pusėje*, p.46, <http://www.ziemgala.lt/saugykla/pdf/8_mickevicius.pdf>, accessed 27 December 2021.

73 Bellander, *Dräkt och uniform*, p.321.

Variations in Officers' Uniforms and Accoutrements

Officers' daily service uniforms differed from privates' coats not only by better quality cloth: they could be trimmed with lace; officers could also wear gorgets. Officers' coats were to be of blue colour. Judging by the surviving cloth samples and original items, we can assume that a wide range of shades of blue cloth and variations of texture was in use. The cuffs on officers' coats were also to be blue, with the lining of the same colour on the coat's fronts. Variations also existed, however: the lining and cuffs could be of the facing colour, or else cuffs could be blue and the lining red or yellow. Staff officers' coats were laced with gold on the centre front edges, cuffs, pocket flaps, back vents, seams, and buttonholes. Buttons were either gilded or laced. A captain's coat was laced around the cuffs, pocket flaps, and buttonholes. Gloves were also edged with lace, while gloves of senior officers could also have a fringe in addition to lace. During the war, it was hard to maintain peacetime practices, with all sorts of variations springing up. Those who could afford several coats avoided wearing lavishly decorated and expensive uniforms to preserve them for appropriate occasions. Furthermore, in imitation of their king, who preferred plain, unadorned clothes, many officers also wore plain coats. Fashion trends also influenced the uniforms. During the Great Northern War, Swedish officers wore coats of several models. The first model was a single-breasted collarless coat, with vertical pockets, two on each side, and with a varying number of buttons. The cuffs were not slit. Variations of this model could have horizontal pocket flaps with five or seven buttons, and later with slit cuffs. The 1696 map vignette shows the officers' uniforms before the outbreak of the Great Northern War in great detail, depicting warrant officers of the Tavastehus Regiment (*Tavastehus regemente*).¹ The officers are shown in light blue uniforms, embroidered with narrow and wide lace. The artist has reflected an important feature of that period, the gentry fashion of passing the ends of their neckcloths through a buttonhole. Coat seams and horizontal pocket flaps are laced with narrow lace, with a wider lace along both centre front edges, and with buttons along the

¹ Klinge and Ericson, *Suurvallan mahti*, pp.130–131.

A self-portrait of L.C. Stobée (1676–1756) in Carolinian uniform. 1707.



centre front from collar to hem. Wide, round cuffs with lace and buttons are also clearly visible. However, slit cuffs, both large and small, were introduced shortly after the period depicted on the vignette. According to existing descriptions of the uniform of the Södermanland Regiment, cuffs on the regiment's coats were already small (125 mm wide) as early as 1702.² A portrait of L.C. Stobée dated 1707 shows a collarless coat with narrow sleeves and small cuffs. The coat's centre front edges, pocket flaps, and cuffs are trimmed with narrow lace.

Along with narrow-sleeved coats, officers wore coats with the sleeve widening from the elbow in the form of a trapeze, as we can see in the drawings of both infantry and artillery officers.³ Sleeves of such shape, with

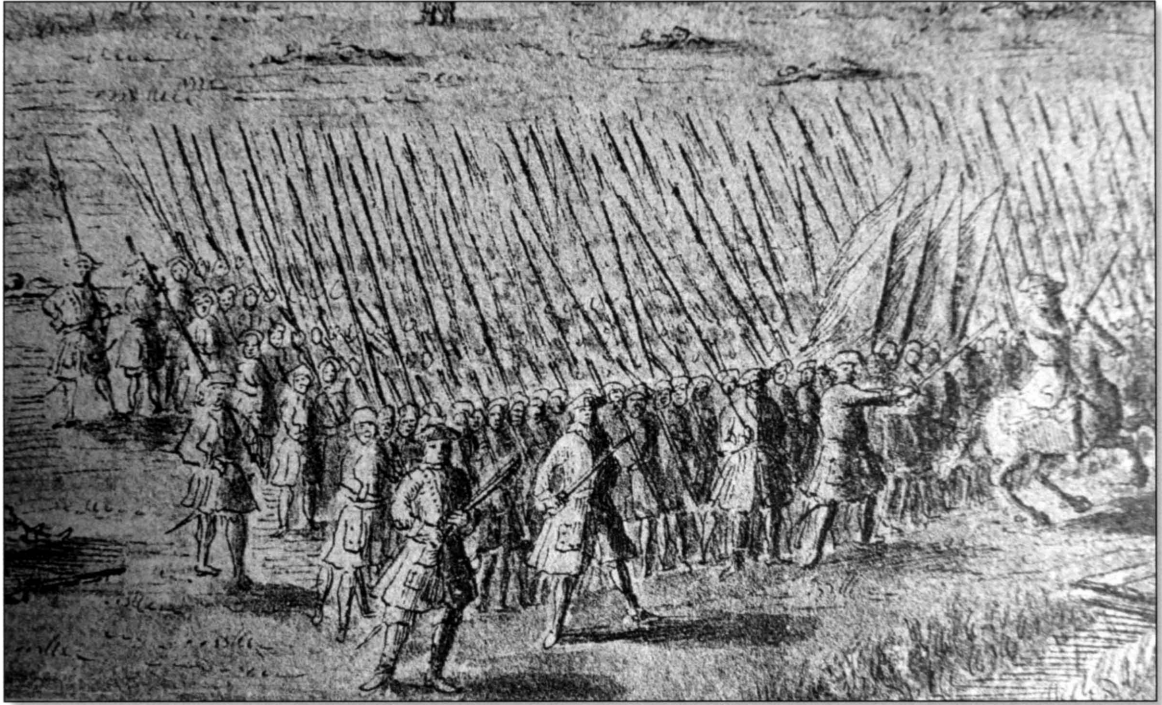
² Höglund, *The Uniforms of The Swedish Army*, p.60.

³ Daniel Grundell, *Nödig underrättelse om artilleriet till lands och siös, så wäl till theoriam, som praxin beskrifwen, och med nödige kopparstycken förklarad* (Stockholm, 1705).



A portrait of Captain Anders Möller, 1715, by J. Kloppe. (Nordiska museet, NM.0061458)

three to five buttons on their large round cuffs, could be found until the mid 1710s. In colder seasons, officers, mainly higher ranking, sometimes had their coats lined with fur; we can see several such examples in the portraits of the King and his generals, for example in the equestrian portrait of Charles XII in Skokloster Castle. The King is wearing a blue coat lined with fur on the skirts and cuffs. The painting shows the coat's cut typical for the late 1690s/early 1700s, with a collar, smaller slit cuffs, and rectangular four-buttoned pocket flaps. The cut of such coats lined with fur followed both fashion trends and regulation requirements; they could be both double-breasted and single-breasted. The lining could be trimmed with fur fully or partially. In the late seventeenth to early eighteenth centuries, pocket flaps were set low on the skirts, but were gradually raised higher towards the waistline as the fashion evolved. Many portraits and surviving items show that, as the number of buttons along the coat's edges diminished, pocket flaps were set level with the lowest button and buttonhole. The start of the eighteenth



A fragment of an engraving showing the crossing of the Düna in 1701.

century brought about the fashion to turn the skirts back and fasten their corners to each other with metal hooks, which were sewn onto the lining. Sometimes, false buttonholes were placed on the coat's back vent from both sides, starting from the waistline, three on each side, or up to seven down to the hem of the skirts. Buttonholes were generally made in two principal ways: worked with thread or bound with cloth or silk. Buttonholes could also be laced and then worked with metallised thread. From 12 to 14 buttons were sewn along the coat's centre front, approximately down to the waistline. However, one of the portraits of Frederick of Holstein-Gottorp shows only 10 buttons along the coat's centre front. Some coats could have three buttons on each cuff, as, for example, can be seen in the portrait of Magnus Gabriel von Köhler dated 1719 and in the engraving dated 1705 and depicting the crossing of the Düna in 1701. According to Erik Bellander, the engraving shows soldiers of the Västerbotten Regiment.⁴

In front of the ranks, we can see an officer in a coat with a narrow stand-up collar, 10 to 12 buttons down to the hem of the coat's skirts, and a horizontal three-buttoned pocket flap. The upper part of the sleeve is narrow, but below the elbow the sleeve expands, continuing into a large, but rather narrow cuff with three buttons. Buttons on officers' coats could be brass, lenticular, soldered from two hollow halves. Sometimes they were gilded or silvered. Also, in many portraits we can see buttons covered with gold lace or stamped buttons imitating the weave pattern of lace or braid. Portraits of

⁴ E. Bellander, *Beklädnad Och Uniformering Vid Västerbottens Regemente* (Västerbottens Läns Hembygdsförenings Årsbok, 1950–1951), Årgång 31–32, p.19.

Swedish officers sometimes show buttons known to us from archaeological finds: cone-shaped, with a geometrical ornament imitating the weave pattern of thread or lace. They could be made by stamping or soldering and could be gilded or silvered.

Officers could also add various adornments to their uniform and invent fancy designs in breach of regulations: for example a portrait of Abraham Melander, an officer of the Södermanland Regiment shows fewer buttons than required with wider spacing on his coat's centre front, while other portraits show the opposite: a large number of buttons narrowly spaced along the coat's centre front edges. The coat's collar and centre front edges are laced, while buttonholes and the places where buttons are attached to the coat are trimmed with a lace that is twice as wide as the lace used for the collar and the coat's skirts.⁵ Buttonholes were often laced on both sides, including on the inside of the coat. Sometimes, the entire coat was laced with narrow lace, including the hem of the skirts. Apart from the traditional single-breasted coats, portraits of generals and other officers also show coats with lapels and double-breasted coats. Such lapels could be fastened with three to five or more buttons. They could also be trimmed with different kinds of lace. A number of surviving photos with portraits of officers from Baltic regiments provide an idea of the variety of styles in uniforms and fancy variations introduced by the officers. Some portraits show uniforms that are quite compliant with the regulations, but have fewer or differently arranged buttons. For instance, in one of the portraits, Gustaf Otto Lilienfelt, a lieutenant of Schwengel's Pernaú Infantry Regiment (*Schwengelms pernauska infanteriregemente*), is wearing a blue coat with seven buttons down to the waist, with one more button visible from under the waistbelt.⁶ We can only guess how many buttons go further down the centre front edge and whether they go all the way down to the skirts' hem or not. The officer's blue waistcoat has 14 to 16 small and narrowly spaced buttons reaching down to the waist. The officer has a hat trimmed with gold twisted cord, a lavishly embroidered waistbelt, and a gorget. The portrait of Carl von Hertman of Liewen's Infantry Regiment (*Liewens infanteriregemente*), who had climbed his way up from ensign (*fänrik*) to captain, shows an officer in a plain blue collared coat, with a blue cloth waistcoat visible from under the coat, apparently with about 16 buttons down to the waist. His hat is trimmed with narrow lace, while his uniform's modesty and sobriety is offset by the gorget, and the waistbelt entirely embroidered with gold. The portrait of Bengt Heinrich von Bistram, a lieutenant colonel in the Harju Land Regiment, shows an officer wearing a collared coat with only five buttons down to the waist and also with buttons on small cuffs, as well as a cloth waistcoat with a small collar. The officer in the portrait has no gorget. Ewert Philipp Krusenstiern, a lieutenant in Liewen's Livonian Infantry Regiment (*Liewens livländska infanteriregemente*), is wearing a plain uniform in imitation of his king, with a gorget. Heinrich von

5 V.A. Moltusov et al., *Poltava 1709: vändpunkten* (Stockholm: Svenskt Militärhistorisk bibliotek, 2010), p.145.

6 Aleksandra Murre, *Vene Valitsejate Portreed*, Kadrioru kunstmuseum Kevadkonverents 2007 (Tallinn, 2008), p.75.

Fick, an officer of Nieroth's Infantry Regiment (*Nieroths infanteriregemente*), is wearing a double-breasted coat trimmed with narrow lace along the centre front edges and buttonholes. The officer from the family of Pistolekors or Aderkas is also wearing a double-breasted, close-fitting coat with seven pairs of buttons and buttonholes laced with wide lace. The coat's collar, wide slit cuffs, and edges are trimmed with narrow lace. The Carolean-style pocket flaps have five buttons each, with buttonholes also edged in wide lace.

The centre front, pocket flaps, cuffs, and seams of coats could be simple, bound, or laced, as can be seen from the above descriptions. Quite exotic adornments were sometimes used, for example with metallised gold cord after the Hungarian fashion, as witnessed by the portrait of K.G. Spence. Portraits of Swedish officers show both plain weave lace as well as lace with zigzag and floral patterns. The garments of senior officers and generals could also include coats with centre front edges and buttonholes trimmed with braided cord (*brandenburg*), or lace shaped as bastions or sections of floral ornament resembling figures of eight. Several portraits of senior officers feature similar adornments.

Unfortunately, no officers' coats or waistcoats dating from the first years of Charles XII's reign have survived, so we can only judge about their cuts and adornments from garments of previous periods or surviving artworks. The situation is somewhat better with the post-Poltava period, from which two complete uniform sets have survived: that of the King himself and that of Prince Frederick, as well as elements of the uniforms of C. Drakenhielm.

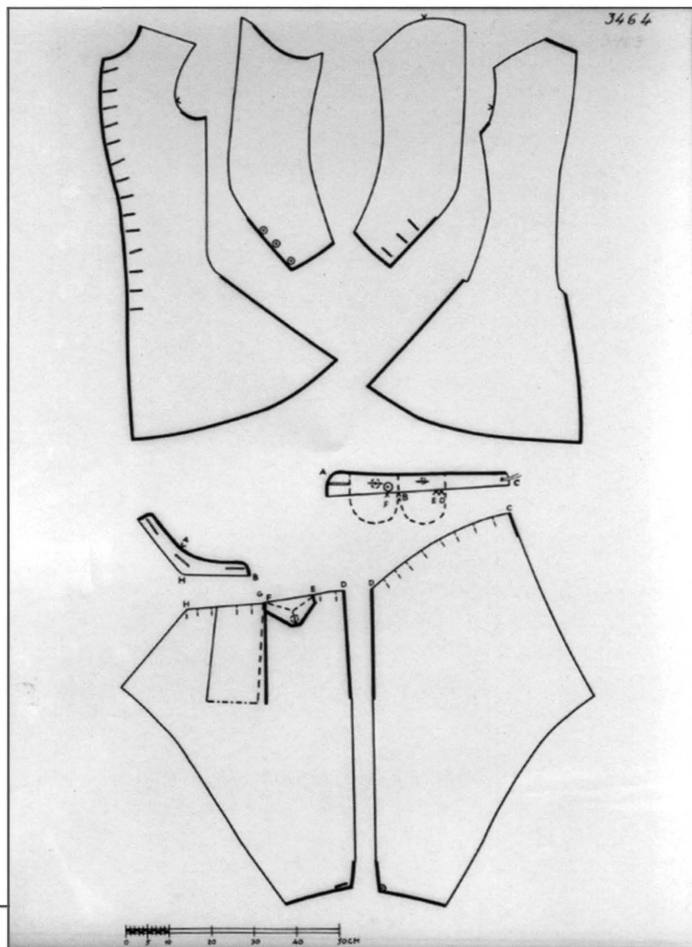
Surviving Examples of Officers' Coats, Waistcoats and Breeches

We will first look at the coat of King Charles XII that he was wearing at the time of his death during the siege of Fredriksten.⁷ This close-fitting blue coat is made of high-quality fine cloth, probably of English manufacture. It has a turn-down collar, 8 cm wide (about 5 cm in the middle on the back). The length of the coat is slightly below the knee, considering Charles' height. It has 12 gilded lenticular buttons on the centre front, which are secured with a vertical leather cord concealed between the lining and the outside fabric. Two more buttons are placed at the waist, on top of the side pleats. On the inside of the lining, the places where these buttons are attached to the base of side pleats are reinforced with triangle-shaped cloth patches. The coat's buttonholes along the centre front are bound, with the welts 6 cm long. The sleeves taper towards the wristband, which has three buttons; the slit cuffs are small, 8 cm wide. The front fabric has a raw hem. The coat is also lined with blue woollen fabric, the sleeves are lined with waxed linen. The pocket flaps start at the level of the eleventh buttonhole, and are buttoned with seven buttons; the buttonholes are small, the pocket openings are triangle-shaped, while the pocket bags are made of thin leather. The pocket flaps are 16.5 cm

7 Korolevskiy fasad. Karl XII v Oruzheynoy palate, <<http://books.reenactor.ru/?bookid=292>>.

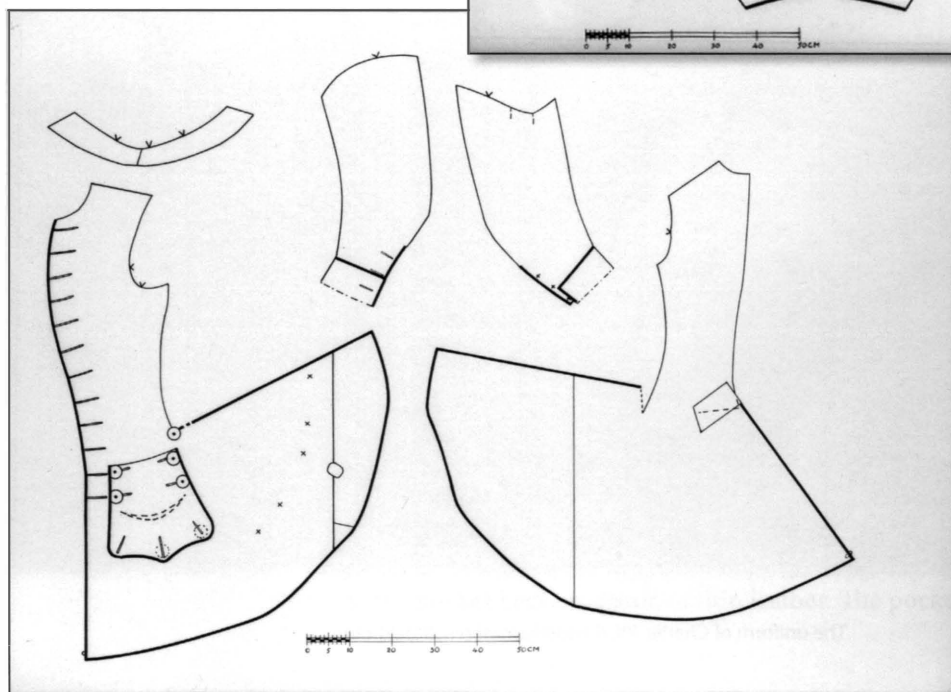


The uniform of Charles XII. (Livrustkammaren, Stockholm)



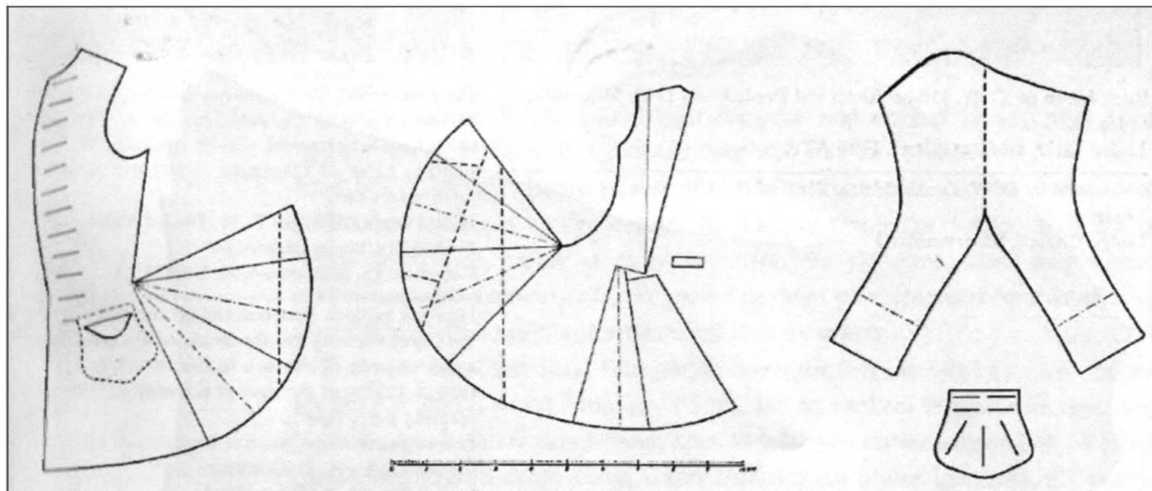
Right: The cut of Charles XII's coat.
(Livrustkammaren, Stockholm. Photo from
author's collection)

Below The cut of Charles XII coat and breeches.
(Livrustkammaren, Stockholm. Photo from
author's collection))





A coat of King Charles XII, front and back view. (Livrustkammaren, Stockholm)



The cut of Lieutenant Carl Wilhelm Drakenhielm's coat. (Photo from author's collection)

wide at the top, and 25 cm wide at the bottom at their widest point, the length in the middle down to the lowest tip of the flap is 24 cm.

Another surviving coat, that of Lieutenant Carl Wilhelm Drakenhielm of the Södermanland Regiment, is held in the Ludgo Church in Södermanland and is slightly different from the royal one. It is made of blue cloth, slightly lighter in colour. The shoulder seam is located further back, the lining of the skirts and back is made of twill wool. There is no collar, with a narrow 1.5 cm wide welt instead, with 12 8–10 cm bound buttonholes along the coat's centre front. There are also two false buttonholes on an inset above the back vent. A button is inserted at the base of the side pleats on each side at the waist level. The pocket flap is sewn on at the level of the twelfth buttonhole and is 19.5 cm wide at the top, about 22 cm long measuring from the top in the middle down to the lowest tip of the flap. The pocket openings are triangle shaped, the pocket bags are made of canvas. The three bottom buttons are sewn onto the coat's skirts, with four buttons sewn at the outer ends of the buttonholes in the upper corners of the flap. The sleeve cut is peculiar in that it is made of a single piece of fabric. Each wristband has three slit buttonholes and three buttons sewn onto it, with the 12–13 cm wide cuff, overlapping two buttonholes. The buttons are lenticular, soldered, and gilded. The side pleats are tacked with thread in three places – at the top, at the bottom, and in the middle. The coat seems to be a variation of the 1706 model.⁸

The third coat belonging to Prince Frederick (*Fredrik I av Sverige*) and dated 1716 also has its distinctive features.⁹ This collared coat is made of dark-blue cloth in a shade similar to what is known as 'Prussian blue', with red cloth lining. Its shoulder seams are shifted to the upper back (tailored). The coat is 111 cm long. The coat has 12 slit buttonholes along the centre front and six buttonholes at the back vent area, worked with greyish blue silk thread

⁸ Lars Ericson Wolke, *The Swedish Army of the Great Northern War, 1700–1721* (Warwick: Helion & Company, 2018), p.24.

⁹ Bellander, *Dräkt och uniform*, p.254. Held in the Livrustkammaren (Royal Armoury) in Stockholm (inv. No. Lrk 20754).



The coat of Frederick I (*Fredrik I av Sverige*), front and side view, 1716. (Livrustkammaren, Stockholm)

The coat of Lieutenant
Carl Wilhelm Drakenhielm,
Södermanland Regiment,
held in the Ludgo Church in
Södermanland.





A major of the Uppland Regiment (*Upplands regemente*), early 1700s. This reconstruction uses the uniform from a portrait of an officer by Georg Wilhelm Fleetwood. The coat's buttons reach down to the hem of its skirts, with seams, cuffs, the collar, and pocket flaps laced in gold. The hem of the coat's skirts is also laced, which is quite rare. Not only are the buttonholes laced, but also the centre front opposite each buttonhole. This officer is wearing high boots. He is armed with a half-pike, and a sword suspended on a waistbelt lavishly embroidered with gold and with a gilded buckle.

An officer of Nieroth's Infantry Regiment (*Nieroths infanterregemente*). He wears a double-breasted coat with seven pairs of buttons and buttonholes trimmed with wide lace, with a collar and wide slit cuffs. The coat's edges trimmed with narrow lace. The pocket flaps are of the classic Carolean shape, with five buttons and buttonholes trimmed with wide lace.



The buttonholes along the centre front are about 8 cm long while the vertical buttonholes on the pocket flaps are 9.5 cm long. The side pleats with a button sewn just above each of them start at the level between the tenth and eleventh buttons on the centre front, similar to Lieutenant Drakenhielm's coat. The top of the pocket flap is located approximately at the level of the twelfth button on the centre front. Each of the coat's pocket flaps have seven buttons and false, non-functional buttonholes. The three bottom buttons are sewn onto the coat's skirts, while the other four buttons are attached to the buttonholes at the corners of the pocket flap. There are two tacks in the upper corners of each pocket flap, made of the same silk as the working of the buttonholes. The pocket flaps are lined with red cloth, the pocket openings are triangle shaped, while the pocket bags are made of red silk. Each pocket flap is 15 cm wide at the top, 20 cm long in the middle down to the lowest tip of the pocket flap in the centre, and 20 cm wide at the bottom. The sleeves have blue cuffs, with slit buttonholes on the wristband and a tack also on the wristband at the top of the slit. As in the case of Lieutenant Drakenhielm's coat, two of the buttonholes are concealed by the cuff. The cuffs are slit, blue, with tacks directly above the slits of the wristbands and on the cuffs near their upper edges.

Infantry Officers' Waistcoats

The officers' waistcoats (*väst*) were made of cloth or buckskin. They were single-breasted, with or without sleeves, had a canvas, woollen or silk lining, and could be buttoned up. Buttonholes along the centre front and on pocket flaps were worked with thread or were bound, and could be edged with lace. Officers' waistcoats could be trimmed with lace of different types, or embroidered with baroque ornaments, with metallised gold, silver, or silk thread. Waistcoats could have pockets with flaps, fastened with three, five or, less often, seven buttons. The waistcoat in the portrait of L.K. Stobée, 1707, has 12 buttons and pocket flaps shaped as the coat's pocket flaps for seven buttons, albeit of smaller dimensions, but they are also edged in narrow gold lace, as are the waistcoat's hem (bottom edge) and centre front edges. In the early eighteenth century, waistcoats were nearly mid-thigh, sometimes a little bit lower, but by the 1710s they were made a little shorter. Charles XII. Oil on canvas. 1700s. Two authentic Swedish officers' waistcoats have survived, those of Charles XII and Prince Frederick.

The King's waistcoat is made of yellow cloth, with 14 gilded brass buttons on the centre front, and three more buttons on each cuff. Its buttonholes are bound. The waistcoat has no pockets and is lined with yellow plain-weave wool. Its back and partially front are additionally lined with yellow wool (*ylle boj*) cloth. Inside, in the buttonhole area, a welt is sewn on, covering each of the holes roughly by half. An opening is made in each armhole under the sleeve.

Frederick's waistcoat is 97 cm long, made of blue cloth, lined with red silk, and has 14 buttons along the centre front. Each wristband has another three buttons, while pocket flaps start at the level of the last fourteenth button. Buttonholes are worked with greyish blue silk, the same as on the coat. The pocket openings are triangle-shaped, the pocket bags are made of the same



Charles XII's waistcoat from buff cloth, front and back view. (Livrustkammaren, Stockholm)



The waistcoat of Frederick I (*Fredrik I av Sverige*), front and back view.
(Livrustkammaren, Stockholm)



The placement of pockets on Charles XII's breeches. (Photo from author's collection)



red silk as on the coat. The pocket flaps feature three decorative buttonholes, with the flaps' lining made of the same red silk, and with buttons sewn onto the waistcoat's fronts. The buttonholes along the waistcoat's centre front are about 7 cm long, while the vertical ones on the pocket flaps are 9.5 cm long. Flap dimensions are as follows: 19 cm wide at the top, 22 cm wide at the bottom, and 16 cm long in the middle from the top of the flap to its lowest tip in the centre. The pocket flaps, back vent, and the top of the side pleats are tacked. As we can see, these two waistcoats are tailored in completely different styles. Less often, older models of leather jerkins were used as waistcoats. Such knee-length jerkins could have two vertical flaps on the front skirts, which could be buttoned; the pocket openings, skirts and centre fronts could be edged in lace. Many Swedish generals and senior officers are portrayed in similar jerkins; jerkins of a similar type have also survived to our days among the garments of Peter the Great. Sometimes, buckskin waistcoats had small turn-down collars as can be seen in the portrait of Charles XII held in the Tallinn City Museum and in the portrait of Magnus Gabriel von Köhler. Breeches existed in two variations, with a fall-front, and with a fly. The latter seem to be the earlier ones as Charles XII's surviving breeches that have a fly date from the first years of his reign, while both surviving pairs from the period of the Great Northern War have a fall-front.

The King's breeches are made of the same yellow cloth as the waistcoat and have no lining – they were probably worn over the lower pants. The breeches are wide at the top and narrow at the bottom part of the legs. There is a flap (fall-front) in the middle and a slit at the back starting from the waist, which allowed adjusting the width of the breeches using a drawstring. There is one button at each legband. The breeches have 10 pockets of different sizes, sewn from thin soft leather, and the breeches are fastened with a front flap, with bound buttonholes and gilded brass buttons.



The breeches of Frederick I, front and back view. (Livrustkammaren, Stockholm)

A pair of stockings which could be dated c.1720–1743, from the same equipment that was earlier attributed to Rålamb; they were actually used by a cavalryman of the Noble Cavalry Regiment (*Adelsfanerementet*)

The stockings are currently on display at the Army Museum in Stockholm but are owned by the Östergötlands länsmuseum, a county museum in Sweden. (Östergötlands länsmuseum, A 8424:8)



The breeches of Frederick I are 77 cm long, made of blue cloth with golden silk lining, also with a fall-front, but somewhat different in terms of their cut and the number and placement of their four pockets. Their waistband fastens with two buttons and has two small pockets, as well as two other pockets under the fall-front. The slit buttonholes are worked with silk thread. Unlike the King's breeches, these breeches have no legbands and, accordingly, no buttons to close them.

Stockings (*strumpor*) were silk, woollen, knitted, or sewn from cloth in different colours – yellow, blue, red. In colder times, a second pair of ankle-length stockings, tied with a drawstring, could be worn over the first pair.

The neckcloth (*halsduk*) was long, white, with lacework at the ends, or black woollen, or short in the form of a stripe, or with ties, as on the surviving samples from the collection of the Stockholm Museum. We may judge how shirts (*skjorta*) looked like from the surviving items that also belonged to C. Drakenhielm and Charles XII. Their shirts are made of flax linen, with pleats at the neck, shoulders, and cuffs, with openings in the collar for a cord or a ribbon. In general, the undergarments probably did not differ much from the common European patterns.

Officers' Cloaks

In nasty and cold weather, both officers and privates wore collared cloth cloaks. Several authentic examples of such cloaks have survived in museum



Left: A cloak of Charles XII,
and the reverse side of the
collar showing the clasps.
(Photos from author's
collection)

Below: Clasps from chance
finds at battlefields in
Ukraine. (Items in author's
collection; author's photos)





collections in Sweden and Russia. Unlike soldiers' cloaks, officers' cloaks were rather circular than semi-circular in shape, about eight metres in circumference, and were of mid-calf length. The surviving cloak of Charles XII consists of two parts that are sewn together on the back. The cloak has a wide turn-down collar around the throat opening with shaped cutouts.¹⁰ The collar could be edged in lace, made of the facing colour cloth, or be blue (that is, of the colour of the cloak). The centre front could be edged with lace as on a cloak from the collection of the State Hermitage Museum (inventory No. ERT-8555). The cloak was fully lined on the inside with cloth or flannel.¹¹ Another option would be thick cloth with the blue outside surface, and with the inside dyed with the facing colour to imitate lining. Officers' cloaks were fastened in the same way as privates' cloaks with a metal clasp, cast or stamped (AM.015490).¹² One clasp with a hook has also survived on the cloak of Charles XII; it has no adornments and is of simple design resembling that of privates' clasps. Unlike privates' clasps, officers' clasps were richly decorated. The principal decorative pattern was the royal cipher and a crown in different stylistic variations. The shape of clasps also varied: round, oval, drop-shaped, and trefoil-shaped clasps were popular. In some cases, the cipher was surrounded by grenades – probably because the officer who owned the clasp was either a grenadier or an artilleryman. In other cases that we know, ciphers and other patterns on the clasps of subaltern and staff officers repeated the patterns from officers' gorgets, which were not limited to the crowned royal cipher. On gorgets of staff officers, the crowned cipher was also surrounded by laurel wreaths, with similar branches featuring on surviving cloak clasps.¹³ Clasps could be silvered or gilded. Most likely, cloak clasps were not regulated and were ordered by officers at their private expense to their own taste and depending on their financial capabilities, rank, and type of service.

Facing page, top: A cloak dating from the reign of Charles XI (AM.015490, Stockholm Army Museum) and variations of clasp adornments.

Facing page, bottom: A fragment of a cloak with clasps bearing monogram of Charles XII. Similar clasps are illustrated in the article by Arne Homann, 'Kriegerische symbole barockermacht amkragen', *Archäologische Nachrichten* 2015. (Author's photo)

Officers' Gorgets (*Ringkragar*) and Cuirasses

The system of rank insignia in the form of officers' gorgets established under Charles XI is described in the regulations of the Dalarna Regiment dated 1688.¹⁴ Under Charles XII, this system was further refined. The Regulations of 13 April 1698 provided for colonels to wear a silver gilded gorget with an applied royal cipher under a crown and (probably) external ornaments made of enamel. For lieutenant colonels and majors, gorgets also were to bear the royal

¹⁰ Korolevskiy fasad. Karl XII v Oruzheynoy palate, <<http://books.reenactor.ru/?bookid=292>>, accessed 27 December 2021.

¹¹ Sovershennaya Viktoriya, katalog vystavki, p.345.

¹² Digitaltmuseum, <<https://digitaltmuseum.se/011024369885/kappa>>, accessed 27 December 2021.

¹³ A. Homann, 'Kriegerische Symbole barocker Macht am Kragen Mantelschließen der Zeit um 1700 aus Norddeutschland und Südsandinavien', in *Archäologische Nachrichten aus Schleswig-Holstein*, 2015, pp.82–87.

¹⁴ H. Seitz, 'Karolinska fragment. Foreningens Armemusei vanner', *Meddelanden XVII*, Stockholm, 1956, pp.71–72.

A staff officer's gorget from the collection of the Livrustkammaren, Stockholm.



cipher under a crown, but with palm branches made of blue enamel. Captains were to wear gilded silver gorgets, with the cipher and crown made of white and blue enamel. Lieutenants and ensigns wore silver gorgets, with the gilded royal cipher and crown.¹⁵ The last orders regarding officers' insignia were given by the King on 30 January 1717.¹⁶ In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, old pattern gorgets were probably used simultaneously with the new ones. Judging by the authentic items that we know, officers' gorgets differed from the regulation patterns in shape and adornments. For instance, surviving gorgets feature embossed heraldic Swedish lions that support the royal cipher, surrounded by embossed palm branches. Other popular adornments on gorgets include military attributes such as cannon barrels, peltas, spears, banners, and standards. We also know about gorgets, on which the crown and royal cipher are crafted using different techniques: from cast applied ones to rather roughly made artefacts sawn out of a solid metal plate. The collection of the Moscow Kremlin museums contains captured Swedish gorgets without any adornments at all. Gorgets were worn by officers on a ribbon; the only surviving depiction that is available to us shows a red ribbon. Gorgets were primarily worn by subaltern infantry officers that fought on foot, and also possibly by some senior officers. However, it is unclear whether the latter wore them when mounted, and if so, probably the gorgets were concealed under their coats. Moreover, judging by the contemporary paintings and the Poltava trophies, not all officers had gorgets.

¹⁵ Seitz, 'Karolinska fragment', p.73.

¹⁶ Seitz, 'Karolinska fragment', p.74.

Right: A captain's gorget from the collection of the St Petersburg Artillery Museum.

Below: A gorget (possibly of an ensign) from the collection of the St Petersburg Artillery Museum.



Above: A gorget with a ribbon from a portrait of a Drabant Guard., Stånddrabant Petter Ljung, Spaangakirke, 1704.

Left: A staff officer's gorget from the collection of the St Petersburg Artillery Museum





A ceremonial cuirass. (Photo from author's collection)

After the Battle of Poltava, 'twenty-nine gilded officers' gorgets with enamelled coats of arms, as well as three with non-enamelled coats of arms' were collected. Also collected were 'thirty-four white officers' gorgets, with gilded coats of arms and edges, including one gorget without a coat of arms'.¹⁷ At the same time the captured officers included: '11 cavalry captains, 42 infantry captains, 1 captain lieutenant, 53 lieutenants, and 53 cornets and ensigns'.¹⁸ It is evident that the number of captured officers and the number of collected gorgets did not match. This can be explained by the fact that probably not all officers had such insignia. After the death of Charles XII, the throne was succeeded by Frederick I (*Fredrik I*) in 1720. The officers were to replace the old royal cipher with the new king's cipher on their insignia, but probably continued to wear the cipher of Charles XII until the end of the Great Northern War. An example of such a gorget with Frederick's cipher is shown in the portrait of a Kalmar Regiment officer, Major Peter Berg (*adlad Lilliehorn*) (1688–1753), dated 1720s.¹⁹

Portraits often show officers wearing cuirasses, but in most cases this is probably just a widespread feature of eighteenth-century full-dress portraits. In fact, apart from cavalry, cuirasses could be worn only by some officers, mainly by senior infantry officers and generals. There were different models of cuirasses: double-sided or single-sided (breastplates), with different options for attaching straps. Cuirasses could be decorated with an embossed or cast depiction of the royal coat of arms and cipher. Some high-ranking officers could use cuirasses with the coat of arms and cipher of Charles XI. Judging from the portraits, cuirasses were worn over a waistcoat, usually leather, under the coat.²⁰

17 Yu. N. Bolotina and V.R. Novoselov, 'Vzlyatoye v batalii sveyskoye ruzhye, i znamyona, i litavry, i iniye vsyakiye voinskiye pripasy prinimat v palatu Oruzheynuyu': Dokumenty RGADA o trofeyakh, vzlyatkh u shvedov posle Poltavskoy viktarii 27 iyunya 1709 g., *Istoricheskiy arkhiv*, 2009, No. 3, p.25.

18 L.G. Beskrovniy and G.A. Kumaney, *Severnaya voyna 1700–1721 gg. K 300-letiyu Poltavskoy pobyedy: Sbornik dokumentov*, M., 2009, V. 1., p.499.

19 Portrait of Berg/Lilliehorn, <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/54/Peter_Lilliehorn.jpg>, accessed 27 December 2021.

20 M. Olin, *Det karolinska porträttet ideologi, ikonografi, identitet* (Stockholm: Raster, 2000), pp.27, 65, 237.



A captain of the King's Life Guard Regiment of Foot (*Kunglig Majestäts Livgardet till fot*). A hat laced with gold; a short black neckcloth about the neck. The officer is shown wearing a coat of the new 1699 model, in line with the royal edict: the collar, smaller cuffs, large horizontal pentagonal pocket flaps with seven buttons. The coat also features additional pieces of cloth inserted into the side vents, producing two pleats on each side. Thanks to these insets, the cut of the skirts becomes considerably wider. Buttons do not go all the way down to the bottom of the coat's centre front. The coat is also laced with gold along the seams, centre front, and buttonholes, and is lined with light-blue cloth. Such coats were used by Life Guard officers at least until 1709. The waistcoat is also laced along the centre front and pocket flaps. Unlike the officer's belt from the previous plate, the sword belt is fully edged with gold lace.

Right: A major (*major*) of the Jönköping Regiment (*Jönköpings regemente*) or Närke-Värmland Regiment (*Närke-Värmlands regemente*). The officer is wearing a plain daily service blue coat with lining in regimental colours. His rank as major is indicated by a gorget worn beneath the coat, but over the waistcoat, as is common in portraits of the early 1700s. The crown, cipher, and laurel branches on the gilded gorget are made of white-and-blue enamel.



Left: Ewert Philipp Krusenstiern, a captain of Liewen's Livonian Infantry Regiment (*Liewens livländska infanterregemente*). The officer is wearing a plain 'younger model' coat with gilded buttons and a blue waistcoat in the same style. The simplicity of the uniform is offset by the sword belt lavishly embroidered in gold.

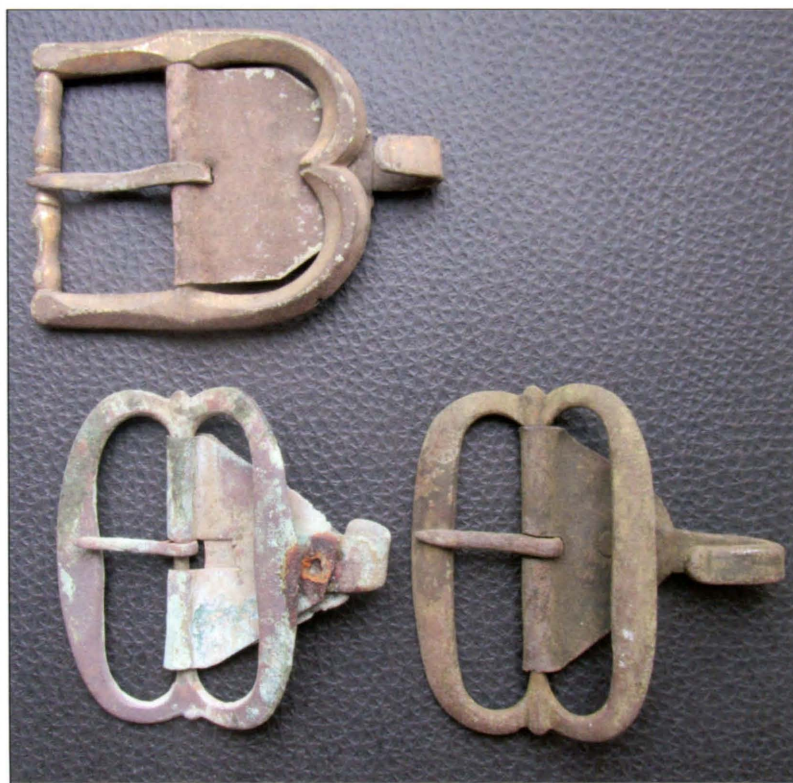
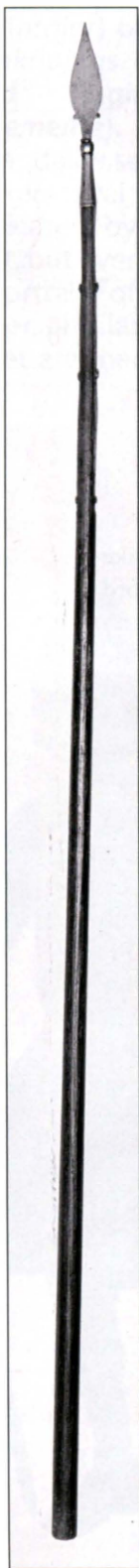
The Weapons of an Infantry Officer

The weapons of an infantry officer consisted of a sword and a half-pike (*spontoen*).¹ The tip of the half-pike could be partially gilded. The sword was carried on a leather (buckskin) waistbelt, the buckles for which were probably not regulated. There were several different patterns: buckles made of two ovals; buckles with a floral baroque element on the ovals' ends; and buckles with baroque pattern openwork (most likely made to order). A flat metal prong was attached to the crossbar of the buckle, with a shaped or plain plate on the opposite side, which had a hole for the prong. The design of belt buckles can clearly be seen on a number of surviving artefacts (Stockholm Army Museum, inventory nos. LRK 32076, LSH 9507). Waistbelts were about 1,220 mm long, and 550 mm wide. Buckskin waistbelts (*gehäng*) could be edged in metallic thread or lace, sometimes with fringe. As a rule, waistbelts were made from a single piece of thick buckskin, or glued together from several layers. Some portraits show waistbelts embroidered along their entire surface with floral baroque patterns in gold. On the inside, waistbelts were edged with braid or linen. Some portraits and surviving artefacts witness that some waistbelts were quite unusual as the waistbelt held in the Poltava Battle Museum, or the waistbelt with hooks shown in the portrait of Johan Sparre. On a waistbelt of this type, the scabbard frog was cut out separately from the belt itself and was suspended on hooks to the waist segment. The scabbard frog on such waistbelts could be decorated with lace and fringe.

1 Seitz, 'Karolinska fragment', p.74.

Right: A spontoon.
(Photo from
author's collection)

Far right: Waistbelt
buckles, chance
finds in Ukraine.
(Items in author's
collection; author's
photos)

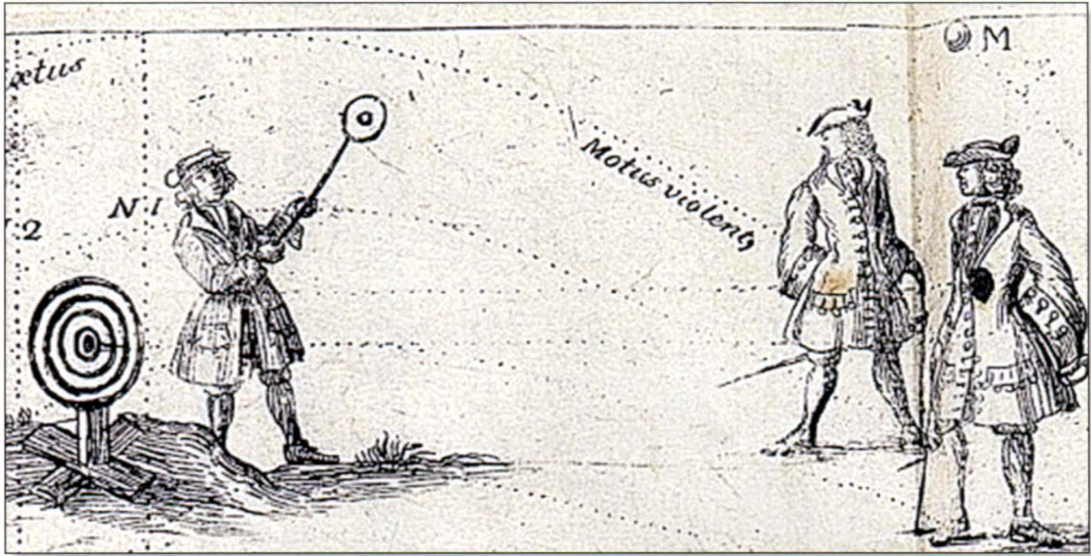


Uniforms of Charles XII's Artillerymen

In line with the tactics of Charles XII's army, artillery was placed between battalions, being in the first lines and supporting the infantry with the fire of its 3- and 6-pounder guns. The Swedish artillery of Charles XII's army comprised garrison artillery and an enlisted eight-company artillery regiment. The regiment's staff included: a colonel, a lieutenant colonel, two majors, a regimental quartermaster, and an adjutant. In addition, like in infantry regiments, there were various other officials and chaplains. The eight artillery companies had 20 officers, including four captains, a captain lieutenant, seven lieutenants, eight ensigns, 40 non-commissioned officers, and 274 privates, including 64 gunners (*konstaplar*, senior artillerymen), 82 gunner apprentices, and 128 gunner assistants (*handlanger*). Höglund's book, which has already become a classic for all those interested in Charles XII's army, describes the uniforms of fortress garrison gunners in detail;¹ therefore, the information will not be repeated here. Rather, this chapter will dwell on the uniforms of field artillery and some important details in the evolution of the uniforms of artillerymen, and will focus on relatively unknown data and drawings of artillerymen made during the Great Northern War. At the same time, those who were the first to stand up against the aggressor should be mentioned: one of the first to encounter the enemy army were the gunners of the Narva garrison. Field artillery also took part in the Battle of Narva in 1700. It seems that artillery officers did not wear gorgets.

According to data from 1699, senior lieutenants (*överstelöjtnanten*) of the Narva artillery wore a black hat laced with gold and a red ribbon, as well as a grey cloth coat, and a leather waistcoat with wide gold lace. Other officers – from the captain to ensigns – wore steel-grey coats, with buttonholes edged in gold and with gilded buttons, blue waistcoats, black hats adorned with gold lace and red ribbons, long neckcloths also tied in front with ribbons of the same colour, and blue stockings. Non-commissioned officers wore steel-grey coats with light blue cuffs, with silvered buttons and buttonholes,

¹ Höglund, *The Great Northern War*, pp.48–50.

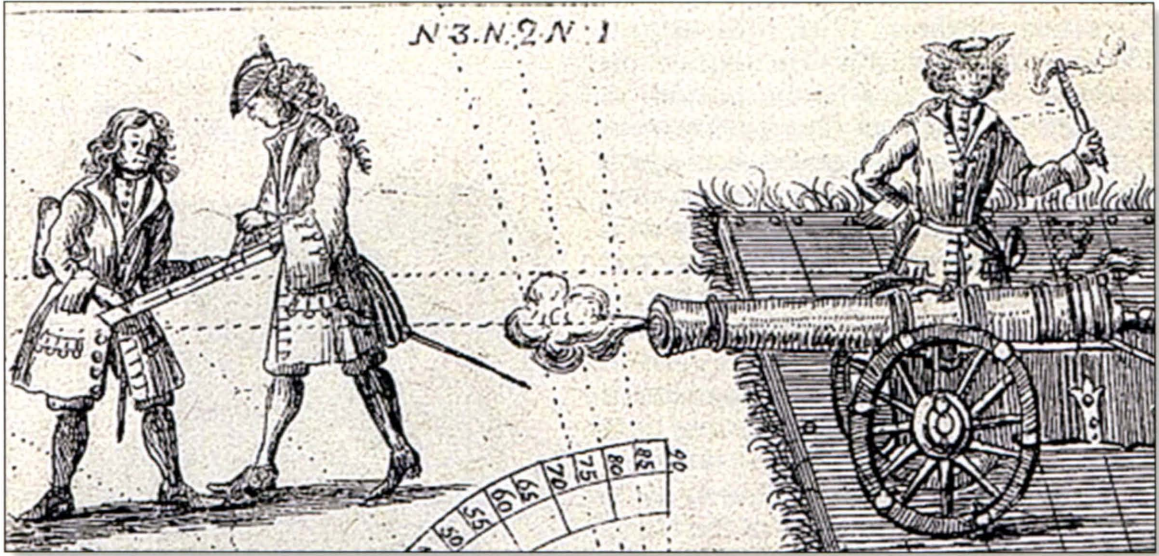


leather waistcoats, blue stockings, black hats with silver lace and red ribbons, and white neckcloths also with red ribbons. Artillery privates were also issued hats with gold lace, but much narrower than the officers' lace, some of artillerymen were issued steel-grey coats with light blue cuffs and brass buttons, while others wore pajrocks in the same colours.² Similar uniforms were used before the outbreak of the war by the garrisons of Riga and other Baltic strongholds in 1694–1697.³ Artillery NCOs wore grey karpuses with gold or silvered lace, grey pajrocks with blue lining, silvered buttons, and buttonholes edged in silver, as well as steel-grey coats with silvered buttons, and blue stockings. Ordinary artillerymen wore grey cloth karpuses with blue flaps, adorned with light blue piping and yellow braid. Hats of privates were trimmed with yellow braid. Steel-grey coats with buttons of yellow metal, blue lining, pajrocks in the same colours, blue stockings.

In 1698, gunners of Riga and Kobron received new model coats with horizontal pocket flaps. In 1701, field artillerymen also received new uniforms, which included a coat, a pajrock, a leather waistcoat and breeches, hats and karpuses, and blue stockings. In 1702, artillerymen stationed in Livonia and Courland were issued new uniforms: hats lined with yellow braid, grey pajrocks with blue cuffs and brass buttons, grey coats with blue cuffs and lining, and brass buttons, as well as leather waistcoats and breeches, and blue stockings. In 1704, artillerymen of Dorpat and Pernau wore hats, blue cloth coats, blue cloth breeches, and grey stockings. In 1709, artillerymen of Field Marshal Magnus Stenbock's army also wore grey coats with blue lining and cuffs. In 1713, artillery NCOs were issued hats with silver lace, black neckcloths, blue cloaks with blue lining and brass buckles, blue coats

² Bellander, *Dräkt och uniform*, pp.213–214.

³ Höglund, *The Great Northern War*, pp.48–59.



D. Grundell. Artillerymen,
1706.

with blue lining, blue waistcoats with blue lining and pewter buttons, leather breeches, and blue stockings.⁴ In 1720, artillerymen wore black neckcloths.⁵

The description of artillery uniforms of 1700–1721 (*Generell artilleristmundering 1700–1721*) includes the following items: an overcoat (*pajrock*) or cloak (*kappa*) of grey cloth, with blue lining, collar and facings. A coat (*livrock*), grey, with blue lining and facings, or a fully blue coat. A waistcoat (*väst, tröja eller camisol*). Breeches (*byxor*), made of leather or blue cloth. Leather gloves (*livré-handskar*). A hat trimmed with lace or cord, or a karpus. Stockings (*ullstrumpor*), grey woollen (probably sewn from cloth), or knitted from blue wool as another option. The hair bag (*hårpung*), if worn, was usually of black cloth. Buckled shoes or boots (*skor med spänne eller stövlar*). Neckcloths (*halsduk*) were black or white, with red ribbons, which were tied around the neckcloth (probably the same way as was in fashion in the late 1690s!) Also shirts (*skjortor*), two pairs; a nightcap (*nattmössa*); and curiously enough, a haversack (*ränsel*).

The above descriptions of the uniforms clearly show a trend in the colour scheme. During the first half of the war, almost all artillerymen wore coats and pajrocks of various shades of grey, with blue lining and cuffs. Horizontal pocket flaps were introduced on coats starting from 1698: rectangular, with three to five buttons, or classic Carolean pentagonal ones, also with three, five, or seven buttons. It is probable that all artillerymen wore new model coats by the start of the war. Below the uniforms' cut and adornments will be discussed in more detail.

⁴ Anders Larsson, <<https://www.tailorandarms.com/2016/10/25/mundering-for-artillerifolket-aren-1700-21/>>, accessed 27 December 2021.

⁵ Bellander, *Dräkt och uniform*, p.271.

An artillery officer. 1705. This elegant officer wears a coat with 14 gilded buttons reaching all the way to the bottom of the coat's centre front, four to five more buttons on the horizontal rectangular flaps, and four buttons on each of the wide cuffs of trapezoid sleeves. His waistcoat is blue cloth, also with gilded buttons and golden lace along the centre front edges. Like all officers, he has blue stockings. The way he has passed the long end of his neckcloth through a buttonhole is distinctive: this fashion can be traced back to the 1690s and is seen in the drawings of D. Grundel. Similar uniforms were worn by the artillery officers of the Narva garrison, 1700–1704. Another distinctive feature includes the red ribbon that was used to trim the hat in the late 1690s. In later periods, however, this adornment on officers' hats might not have been used.





An artillery officer, 1700–1705. This officer is wearing a light steel-grey coat with blue lining and large blue cuffs. Buttons also go all the way down to the coat's hem. The buttonholes are laced. Pocket flaps with four buttons. The officer is holding measurement tools in his hand. A sword knot is tied to the sword's handguard.

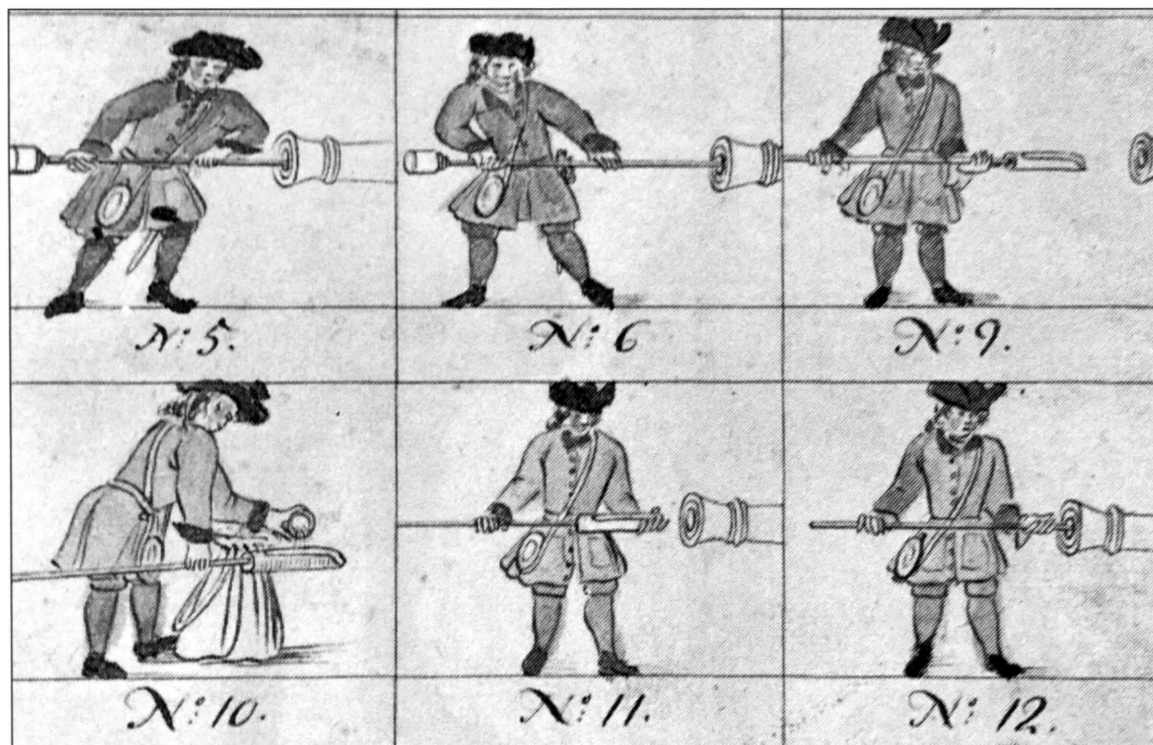
Facing page: An artilleryman, 1700–1704.

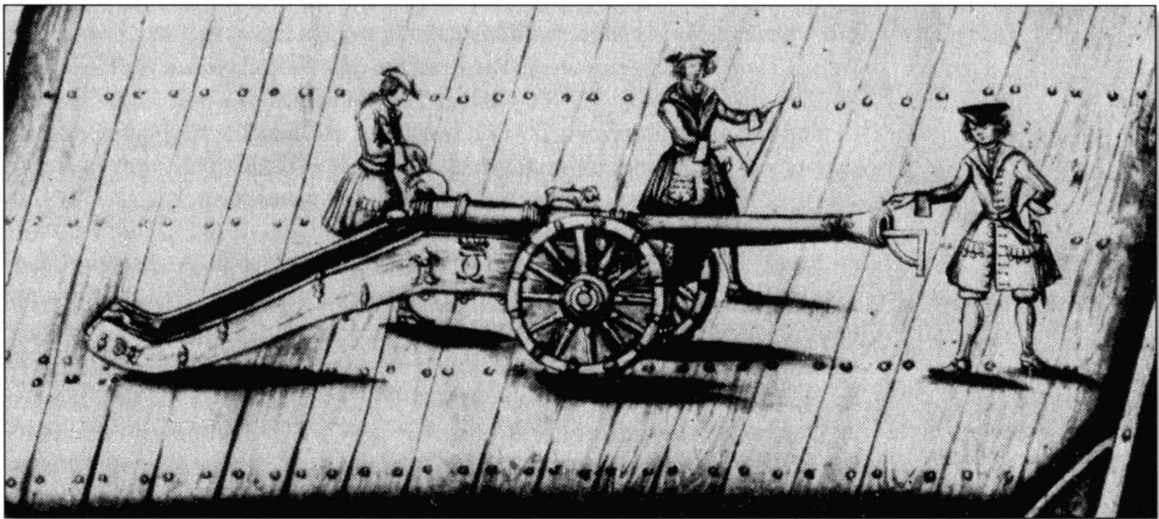
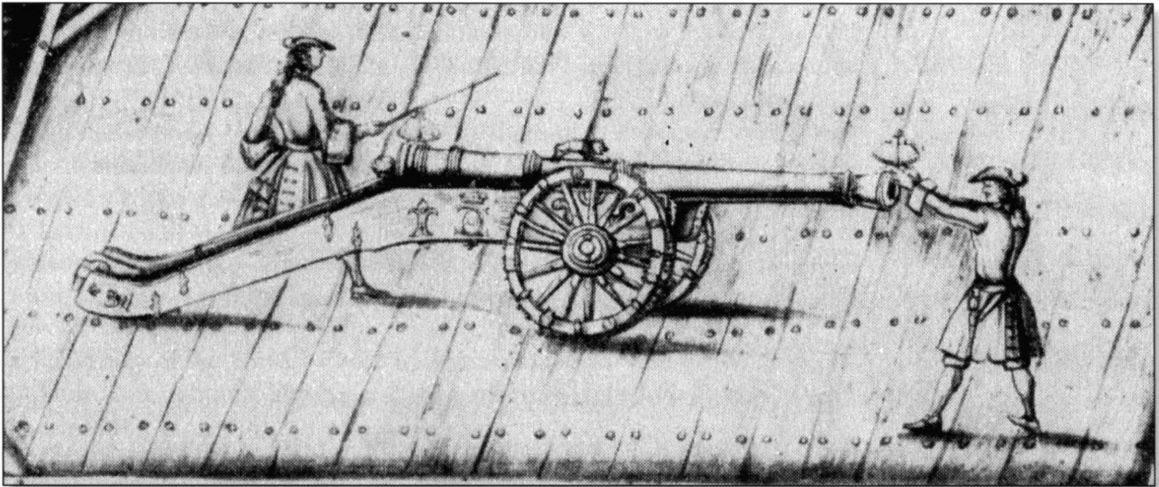
The uniform is similar to that depicted in the previous plate. A hat, a linstock, a wooden powder flask with a brass plate bearing the royal cipher. The belt for the hanger was different from standard waistbelts, as the hanger is suspended vertically.

Right: An artilleryman, 1700–1704, Narva.

The uniforms of artillerymen of this period were grey with blue lining and buttons of yellow metal. Their karpuses were grey and had blue flaps, with the front flap laced yellow, the crown's seams piped blue. The waistcoat is buckskin with buttons of yellow metal, breeches are also buckskin. Blue stockings. A hanger of a special artillery pattern with a brass hilt is suspended to the waistbelt.







The Headgear of Artillerymen

Karpuses of different variations were also used in artillery by both privates and NCOs. NCOs wore karpuses with gold or silvered lace; apparently, it was sewn along the edges of flaps and the peak. Karpuses worn by artillerymen in the early 1710s are illustrated in a watercolour from a book by Hans Lennart Lundh, *Kungl. Göta artilleriregemente*, where the shape of the peak and the overall design of the karpus are clearly visible. The karpuses are assembled from four grey cloth triangles, with blue turn-up flaps and a shaped peak.

Along with karpuses, black felt hats were widely used, lined with metallised lace, red, white, or yellow braid, or without adornments at all. According to surviving artworks, the brim of Swedish hats was not wide, as a rule. To form the hat's triangular shape, its brim was drawn to the crown with a drawstring and held in place with a brass button. Engravings from a 1705 book show that already in the early years of the war, the brim was rolled up and tightly drawn to the crown giving the hat its characteristic triangular shape. In 1707,

Above: Artillerymen before 1707.

Facing page, top: Johannes van den Aveelen, *Facies interior portæ Gothoburgensis Reginae nomine insignitæ*, 1711. Apparently the drawing shows artillerymen of the early 1700s. Interesting details: the cartridge pouches bear the royal cipher, while the officer's waistbelt is trimmed with a fringe.

Facing page, bottom: Artillerymen in collared coats, after 1707. A fragment of artillery drills.

hats of artillery privates were trimmed with gold lace, according to some sources (*Krigskollegium*, 1707 (3261)).⁶ In 1713, artillery NCOs wore hats laced with silver.

Officers' hats were trimmed with gold lace and red ribbons/tapes. The lace pattern probably depended on the taste and financial capabilities of each individual officer. In 1717, hats in the artillery regiment were edged with cord; in 1720, gunners (*konstaplar*) had hats edged with yellow braid instead of white, which had been used previously.⁷ It is worth noting that officers wore different styles of wigs according to the prevailing fashion.

The Coats of Artillery Privates and NCOs

Non-commissioned officers and privates included the following ranks: *Styckjunkare*, *Fyrverkare*, *Minörer*, *Sergeanter*, followed by *Underfyrverkare*, *Lärfyrverkare*, *Underminörer*, *Konstaplar*, *Lärokonstaplar* and *Hantverkare*, as well as *Hantlangare* (privates). The descriptions of uniforms of the late 1690s and the first half of the 1700s provided in documents, as well as the graphic depictions of artillerymen do not show any collars. The first references to collars on artillerymen's coats date from 1707–1708. It is quite possible, however, that coat collars might have been introduced much earlier, in line with royal regulations. A surviving entry in the records of the Swedish War Office (*Krigskollegium*, 1707 (3261)) mentions the cost and amount of cloth issued to manufacture elements of uniforms for artillery privates (*kostnad för hantlangar*). Hats were laced with golden lace. Importantly, a certain kind of woollen cloth (*kersey*, *kiersing*) was used for cuffs and collars. Accordingly, this gives us an idea of the date when collars were added to the uniforms of artillerymen. The full uniform of an artillery private required 49.5 cubits (*alnar*) of grey cloth; 8½ cubits of blue cloth for lining, three dozen (36) brass buttons, and one cubit of cloth for cuffs and the collar. A pajrock required eight cubits of grey cloth, seven cubits of blue cloth for lining, and 2½ cubits for the cuffs and collar. Below we provide a full list of materials and buttons for the uniform in Swedish:

Hatt 3 kmt med guldgäl 4. Livrock 49.5 alnar grått kläde á 5 kmt, 8½ aln blå boj á 1½, 3 dussin mässingsknappar á 1½ kmt/duss, 1½ lod gult kamelgarn 1:4, 1 aln Canfass -:12, 1 aln Kiersing till uppslag och krage 1:28. Pajrock 8 aln grått kläde á 4½, 7 aln blå boj á 1 1/2, 2 aln Kiersing till uppslag och krage 3:24, ½ aln Canfass -:12. Arbetslön 2:8= 58:28 kmt.⁸

In order to understand what artillerymen's uniforms looked like, we will use iconographic sources in addition to the scarce lines in existing descriptions:

6 Anders Larsson, <<https://www.tailorandarms.com/2016/10/25/mundering-for-artillerifolket-aren-1700-21/>>, accessed 27 December 2021.

7 Bellander, *Dräkt och uniform*, p.271.

8 Anders Larsson, <<https://www.tailorandarms.com/2016/10/25/mundering-for-artillerifolket-aren-1700-21/>>, accessed 27 December 2021.

fortunately, several books and engravings depicting artillerymen from the time of the Great Northern War have survived. Drawings from a book dated 1705 show the uniforms⁹ of artillery officers and privates, with some curious details of the cut and other elements. A book by Theodor Jakobsson contains a number of engravings from the early 1700s showing artillerymen and auxiliary personnel.¹⁰ Several books contain watercolours depicting artillerymen of the 1710s.¹¹ These watercolours provide an insight into some significant details and modifications in uniforms. The cut of artillerymen's coats was generally the same as that of infantry coats, but with some distinctive design features. Judging by the engravings from the 1705 book, some artillerymen wore rather close-fitting, broad-skirted (thanks to the insets in the side vents) coats with pleated skirts as early as the first period of the war. No collars can be seen on coats of that period, although by that time nearly all infantrymen were wearing new collared coats. Artillerymen's coats had narrow sleeves with small slit cuffs. Pocket flaps are shown of different types, mainly Carolean pentagonal ones with three or five buttons. Coats of privates are buttoned on the front with 12 to 14 buttons. Curiously, artillerymen are often shown with six pairs of decorative buttonholes on the back vents of their coats. A drawing depicting a plan of the Battle of Gadebusch shows Swedish artillerymen wearing blue coats. Unlike the nearby infantrymen, their hair is not tucked into black hair bags. Theodor Jakobsson's book features several authentic engravings that clearly show uniforms of soldiers and officers. The coats of the privates are shown close-fitting, with six pleats in the side vents, narrow sleeves, and small cuffs. Their pocket flaps are rectangular, with four buttons each. Buttonholes reach down to the coat's hem, with about 14 buttonholes on the centre front, including seven below the waistline. The engravings also show six or seven pairs of decorative buttonholes on the back vent. *Kungl. Göta artilleriregemente* of 1716 shows in detail the positions taken by artillerymen during artillery drills, with artillerymen wearing collared coats with 12 buttons reaching down to the hem of the coat's skirts and with Carolean five-buttoned pentagonal flaps.

Drawings depicting Swedish artillerymen, found by B. Megorsky in a Russian translation of Johan Sjöblad's book, *Kort Reglemente till Artillerie*,

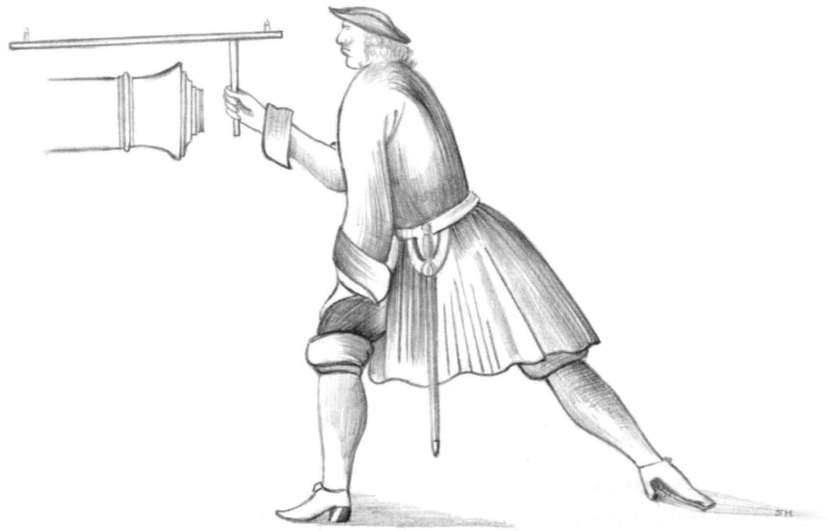


Above, and overleaf:
Artillerymen, 1704–1707,
from the Russian translation
of Johan Sjöblad's book
Kort Reglemente till Artillerie,
1691. (Copy made by the
author from the original
drawings)

⁹ Grundell, *Nödig underrättelse om artilleriet*.

¹⁰ Jakobsson, *Artilleriet under Karl XII:s-tiden*, p.746.

¹¹ Hans Lennart Lundh, *Kungl Göta artilleriregemente* (Göteborg: Regementets historiekommitté, 1954).



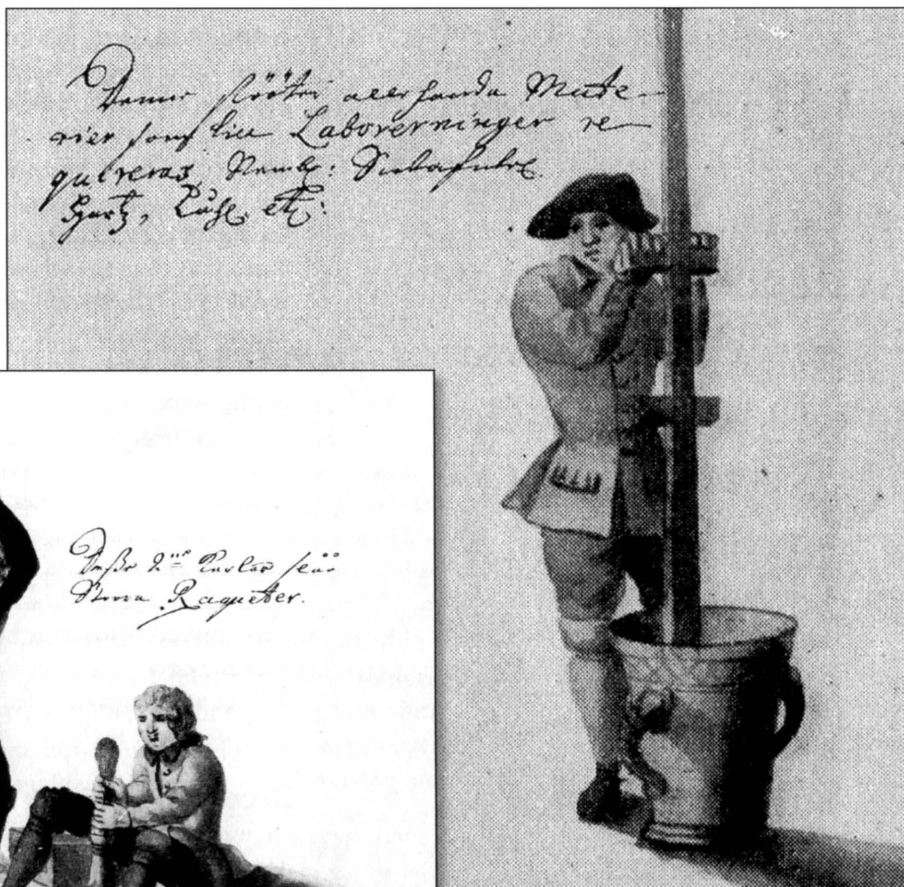
1691, which have not been known¹² or published before, reveal interesting details. The two drawings of artillerymen standing full-face and half-face show collarless coats with 10 buttons reaching down to the waist, with rather wide sleeves and slit cuffs. There are large pocket flaps of the classic Carolean shape on the wide skirts, with seven buttons each, although these are coats of artillery privates. Interestingly, the brims of their small hats are drawn to the crown rather loosely. The manuscript dates from the early eighteenth century and the drawings were probably made between 1704 and 1707. The watercolour drawings of artillerymen in *Kungl. Göta artilleriregemente* of 1716 show several variations of the uniforms of artillery privates and officers. The privates in these watercolours are wearing different kinds of coats: a grey one with blue cuffs and three-buttoned pentagonal pocket flaps; a fully grey collared coat, with 12 brass buttons, and buttonholes down to the skirts' hem, with three-buttoned pocket flaps in the Swedish style. Quite curiously, buttons on the coats of artillery privates in the other two watercolours do not go as low as the hem, while the coats have no collars, but have blue cuffs.

Waistcoats

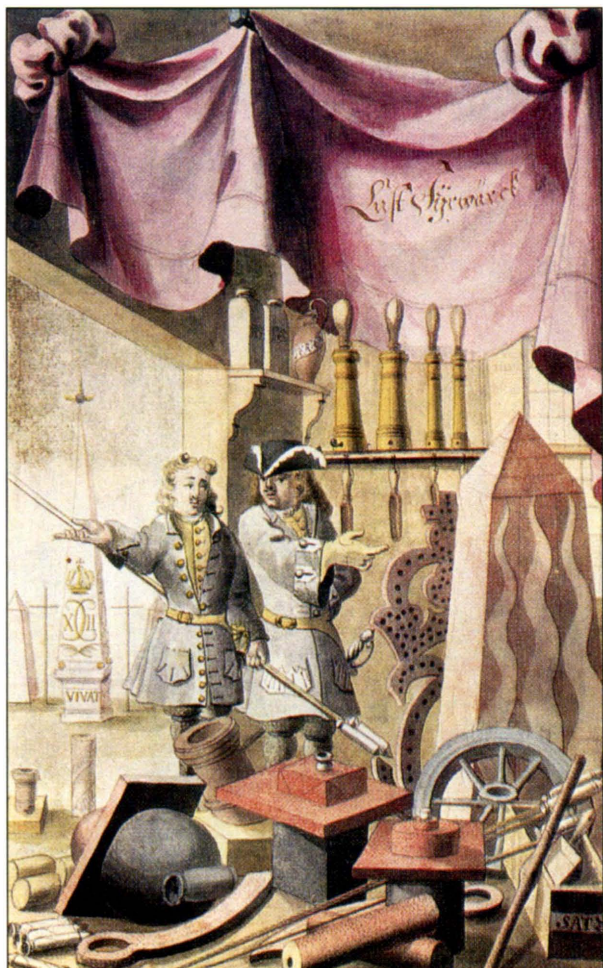
As in infantry, artillery privates and NCOs wore single-breasted leather or, less often, cloth waistcoats with sleeves, but it is possible that sleeveless waistcoats were also in use. Collars were either narrow stand-up collars or small turn-down ones, as, for example, in a drawing of an artilleryman dated 1706.¹³ The waistcoat in this drawing has about 10 buttons along the

¹² OR BAN. P I B No. 14. Rukovodstvo po artillerii, v voprosakh i otvetakh. Per. s shved. Nach. XVIII v. 37. The 1691 manuscript by Johan Sjöbladt translated from Swedish.

¹³ Jakobsson, *Artilleriet under Karl XII:s-tiden*, p.303.



Artillerymen in waistcoats.



A watercolour from *Kungl. Göta artilleriregemente* (1716). An artilleryman and an officer.

with rectangular buttoned pocket flaps placed on the front. We do not know how common this type of breeches was. In most drawings, we cannot see the design of the breeches as they are concealed by the coat.

centre front, three buttons on each sleeve and three buttons on each small rectangular pocket flap. The waistcoat itself is rather short. Another drawing dating from the early 1700s shows another waistcoat worn by an artilleryman.¹⁴ In the drawing, the waistcoat is shown as long as the top of the stockings, with a row of about 10 buttons ending at the waist, and no buttons on the sleeves. The pocket flaps have three buttons and are set rather high.

Leather or woollen waistcoats had a canvas lining, were buttoned with pewter or soldered brass buttons, and were mid-thigh, or shorter. Apparently, its front skirts did not overlap each another. The buttonholes along the centre front and on the pocket flaps were bound, or worked with thread, the same way as on coats. Buttons on leather and cloth waistcoats had ears that were pushed through a hole and fastened with a leather cord on the inside. Waistcoats could be with or without pocket flaps.

Breeches

Breeches (*byxor*) seem to have differed little from infantry breeches, and existed in two versions: with a fall-front and with a fly; leather or cloth. Interestingly, one particular drawing of an artilleryman of 1706¹⁵ shows breeches

¹⁴ Jakobsson, *Artilleriet under Karl XII:s-tiden*, pp.159–160.

¹⁵ Jakobsson, *Artilleriet under Karl XII:s-tiden*, p.275.

The Cut and Adornments of Artillery Officers' Coats

The surviving depictions of artillery officers dating from the Great Northern War suggest that they had their own fashion different from the infantry. Moreover, the trends that were in fashion in the early 1700s seem to have been retained, but for artillery officers this was for 10 years longer than for infantry officers. Engravings from the 1705 book shows the uniform of artillery officers in sufficient detail and in several variations. The first variation shows a coat with about 14 to 16 buttons along the centre front, reaching down to the skirts' hem, with the sleeves substantially widening from the elbow and continuing into large and wide three-buttoned cuffs. The pocket flaps are rectangular and horizontal, four buttons each. Curiously enough, the drawings show six pairs of decorative buttonholes on the coat's back vent. Theodor Jakobsson shows an officer in a collarless coat, with strongly pronounced skirts widening due to the side pleats. The sleeves are also narrow at the top, widening from the elbow and continuing into large and wide cuffs with four to five buttons. The four-buttoned pocket flaps are rectangular with rounded bottom corners. About 20 buttons are narrowly spaced along the centre front down to the hem.

The watercolours from *Kungl. Göta artilleriregemente* (1716) show two variations of officers' coats. The first variation shows an officer in a fully grey coat with a collar, nine or 10 buttons down to the waist, wide rectangular pocket flaps, wide sleeves expanding towards the large cuffs with two or three buttons. The buttonholes on both centre front edges, the cuffs and pocket flaps are edged with bastion-shaped white braid or, more likely, silver lace. Another watercolour shows a figure in a grey coat with blue cuffs and rather narrow sleeves. The buttons are yellow metal, reaching down to the waist, with three buttons on each cuff, and five buttons on each of the pentagonal pocket flaps. The buttonholes are trimmed with white braid or lace.

An artilleryman, 1705, based on drawings from D. Grundel's book. It can be clearly seen that during this period the coats of artillery privates still had their buttons and buttonholes descending all the way down to the skirts' hem. In general, according to the drawings, there were from 16 to 20 buttons along the coat's centre front. The coat has no turn-down collar, either, but at the same time it has small cuffs, with a piece of cloth inserted in the side vents of the coat to produce the pleats and the distinctive cut of the skirts. The pocket flaps have four buttons each and are of rectangular shape. The artilleryman holds a wooden container with a powder charge. He is armed with an artillery-pattern hanger suspended on a special artillery-pattern waistbelt.





An artillery officer based on a watercolour from *Kungl. Göta artilleriregemente*, 1716. This drawing shows an officer in a fully grey coat with a grey collar and cuffs. The buttons are placed very close to each other reaching down to the waist. The wide pocket flaps are of rectangular shape, with the bottom corners slightly bevelled. The sleeves are wide, expanding towards the cuffs, the cuffs are also wide, with two or three buttons. The buttonholes on both centre front edges, cuffs, and pocket flaps are edged with bastion-shaped white braid or, more likely, silver lace.

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Sergey Shamenkov is a graduate of the Academy of Arts in Lviv, and currently lives and works in Odessa, Ukraine. He is an artist and author who has worked on many military history publications. In addition, he is also a sculptor, historian of historical uniforms and clothing, and reenactor. The uniforms of the Great Northern War have a special interest for him, especially those of the Swedish Army of Charles XII. He is a founding member of the *Jönköpingsregemente* historical re-enactment group. He frequently illustrates volumes in Helion's Century of the Soldier series.

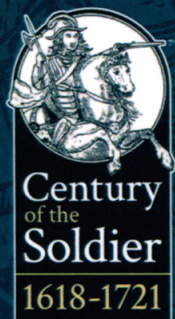
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